BLUEPRINT FOR POGROMS *by* ***DOROTHY ROBERTS***

NEW MASSES

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CONSPIRACY IN THE PHILIPPINES

The story of MacArthur's fascist friends

by GEORGE P. HITCHCOCK

PROGRESSIVES AND PSYCHOANALYSIS

by J. B. FURST

WILL THERE BE AN AUTO STRIKE?

by ABNER W. BERRY

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: The Atom Bomb and You, by The Editors; Why a Veterans' Bonus, by Pfc. Joseph Sokol; Some Congressmen See Stalin, by Virginia Gardner; Sinclair Lewis' "Cass Timberlane," reviewed by Dorothy Brewster.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

IN THE past ten years NM has held many meetings—of all kinds. We have attended a good part of them, and we feel that the most significant and successful, from a dozen points of view, was the recent tribute to John Reed on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death.

Rarely have we seen a more alive tribute to a man who was dead. There was not a single note of "memorial" sadness about the whole evening—either from the audience or from those who participated in the program. From the time the box office line began to form downstairs in Manhattan Center, until shortly after midnight when Mike Gold concluded, the spirit was one of warm excitement and happiness. It was noticeable first at the box office long before the meeting started. The sixty-cent and ninety-cent tickets had almost all been sold out in advance, so that mostly only dollar-twenties were left. Two girls who had only enough money for sixty-cent tickets turned away from the window but were back in five or ten minutes with enough to make up the difference. They explained that they had found some friends and borrowed nickels and dimes. Several people who came alone bought three or four tickets, took one, and left the others to be distributed to those who might want to go and who mightn't be able to afford it. These always made some remark such as, "I wouldn't want to see anybody miss this."

Upstairs, the hall, which holds 2,000, was crowded. These 2,000 were of various ages—those who were older than Reed; those who were approximately Reed's own age; those of the third of these generations, to whom, as John Stuart said, "He was the extraordinary symbol of the American who found the answers"; and last, that "young" generation—eighteen and nineteen—who know about the man who shook hands with the future only through what they have read and heard.

The only thing missing that night was a series of speeches of eulogy, one following another, into the inevitable limbo of audience boredom. May it be forever missing. A great deal of hard work went into the effort of bringing out the story of Reed's life in a way which would best show the unbeatable courage and indestructible integrity of the "writing man" who found the working class, and joined it; who saw the beginning of socialism and who brought an immortal account home to America, believing in it so strongly that he became one of the founders of the American Communist Party.

So a script was written, with a cast which included all those who had come to talk about Reed—Corliss Lamont, Robert Minor, John Stuart, H. W. L Dana, Ben Davis, Jr., Mike Gold. The narration, read by Eve Merriam, tied together these people as a part of Reed's life and his heritage. There was a new song, "John Reed," by Lewis Allan and Elie Siegmeister, written especially for the occasion and sung for the first time by Robert Penn and the Jefferson Chorus; Reed's poem "America 1918," read by David Kerman; and a Prokofieff Sonata played by Vivian Rivkin, pianist, and Max Pollikoff, violinist. Throughout there were stirring incidents and reminders of those two living worlds Reed loved—his own America and the Soviet Union. And when Albert Kahn, on behalf of NEW MASSES, asked for yearly subscriptions for public libraries and radio commentators, $1,200 was immediately donated.

The "writing men" and artists and workingmen who crowded that room applauded, and sometimes they stamped and whistled. They sat firmly in their seats from 8:30 until 12:15. That meant something more than that they were not bored—it meant that they not only love John Reed—they love, believe in, and will fight for those things for which he stood.

One more thing. It is always easy to assume that such successes are the result of collective work and carelessly to forget those who organized the collectivity and who were, in the long measure, responsible for how others worked. In this case, Barbara Jewell nearly killed herself off to see that you had the kind of meeting which resulted. In addition to being assigned the responsibility for the entire affair, she rushed around with tickets like a real Jimmy Higgins, worked night after night until the lights were turned out in the office, wrote innumerable letters, and stayed on the telephone for hours at a time on program details and such. She wouldn't tell you this, but we will.

There are many others who worked valiantly and hard—we wish we had space to mention them all. We think you would like to know about two others—Gilbert Laurence, who wrote the script, and Joseph Foster, one of the most versatile members of NM's staff, who stage-managed the event. M. DE A.

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NEW MASSES

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The answer is now in your hands.

THE scientists have had their say on the atomic bomb and on atomic energy. They have given us the facts we need to know. They have told us simply and almost to a man that the bomb must be internationalized. "The war has taught us," said a hundred leading scientists in a statement released by the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, "that cooperation alone made victory possible. We need it in science, just as in politics. The only safe repository for the atomic bomb is the World Security Council. The only guardian for the free development of scientific inquiry, in a problem that is world-wide in scope, is a united nations organization."

This is the verdict of the men who split the atom and brought the atomic age to birth. This is the answer of men upon whom we depended to defeat the enemy. They see clearly the link between science and politics, between the present and the future.

Now the next step is yours to decide. The scientists have done all they can by courageously rousing public opinion. If their work and ideas are to mean something, then every individual, every community, every trade union must take up the battle.

The very future of the peace is involved. The splitting of the atom can mean the splitting of the world. It can mean a furious armaments race and a catastrophic plunge towards war. Or it can mean its opposite: peace and an abundant tomorrow.

This is the decision you can make. The administration and the War and Navy Departments see the atomic bomb as a means of bludgeoning other powers. They see it as the ace card in the imperialist game. They are talking of a navy greater than all other navies combined. They have their eyes on a dozen islands in the Pacific. They lay plans for a big army. And the atomic bomb is to be their chief club—the club with which to beat those who will not fall in with their imperialist scheming.

You can change Mr. Truman's mind. *You* can talk back to the Army and Navy. *You* can ask them against whom and for what will the atomic bomb be used. Against Germany and Japan? They are defeated powers. Against England, against China, France and the Soviet Union? They are our allies—unless, of course, the United States no longer considers them allies.

Will an atomic bomb in our back pockets keep the peace? France once had a Maginot Line and that did not keep the peace. France once had the biggest army on the Continent and it did not keep the peace. The peace can only be kept by the unwavering cooperation of the democratic powers and peoples and not by atomic power politics and atomic power politicians. In fact, as one scientist in Washington testified last week, the atomic bomb weakens us militarily. Our industries and our industrial population are so concentrated that a small load of atomic bombs can destroy them in a matter of minutes. The only partial defense would be for us to become an underground people, with our factories deep down and our population living like ants.

Our only real protection comes from a joint protection. Peace is indivisible because war is indivisible.

And the secrecy mania has reached a point where our atomic scientists would be subject to a gestapo. Under the May-Johnson bill the military could impose silence on anyone involved in nuclear physics. Free scientific investigation would be shut off. Under these conditions science would stagnate and the whole of technological advance would be held back.

These are the fruits of secrecy: stagnation in science, suspicion, fear, war.

A PENNY postcard, a letter, a telegram, a resolution from you and your organization can help prevent this madness. Tell the President that you want the atomic bomb placed in the hands of the United Nations Organization immediately. Tell your Congressman that you will judge him at the polls by his stand on the atomic bomb. Write to Senator Johnson and Representative May that no restrictions are to be placed on atomic research and that atomic energy must not become the plaything of a commission filled with monopolies' dollar-a-year men. Make sure that the hearings on the May-Johnson measure are not arbitrarily shut off because the administration and the Army and Navy don't like what the scientists are telling them.

Yes, the decision is in your hands.

THE EDITORS.

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CONSPIRACY IN THE PHILIPPINES

By GEORGE P. HITCHCOCK

IN A way this is the story of three men and the treatment accorded each of them by the American army of liberation when it entered Luzon this year to bring an end to three years of Japanese tyranny. For the story of these three men, as told me in a thatched bungalow in the heart of Manila's working-class district, reflects in embryo the struggle which is sweeping over the Philippines today, just as it mirrors the deepest crisis in American foreign policy throughout the Far East—in Chungking, Saigon, Batavia, Korea and now in Tokyo.

The first of these men is General Manuel Roxas. Remember that name well. Before the war Roxas was a personal friend and business acquaintance of General Douglas MacArthur. But during the war, while others fought against Japan, Roxas remained in the Philippines, helped draw up the constitution of the Japanese puppet "republic," and served as chairman of the Economic Development Board of the Islands.

The other two men are Luis Taruc and Casto Alejandrino, names which may mean little to the average American. But Luis Taruc is commander in chief of Hukbalahap and Casto Alejandrino is vice commander. And what is Hukbalahap? Hukbalahap (*Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon*) is the People's Anti-Japanese Army, which fought for three long years against the Japanese in seven provinces of Luzon and killed over 25,000 Japanese and native quislings.

Today Roxas sits in the Malacanan Palace in Manila as President of the Philippine Senate. He is a free man, "cleared" by the US Army Intelligence, and from his key post in the Senate he is carrying on a skillful and demagogic campaign against President Sergio Osmena—a campaign which, it is universally believed, aims at the presidency itself.

And Taruc and Alejandrino, the tested and fearless fighters against Japanese imperialism, where are they? In jail. Consider that well. They are in jail and in a jail plainly marked "Made in the USA." They have been held for over six months by Army Intelligence under loose charges of "sedition," without a trial or an open hearing. Their valiant army was disbanded and disarmed in the thick of the fighting, scores of its leaders forced into hiding and its democratic program slandered in the press as the work of "bandits and rapists."

Behind this story of three men lies a shameful history of intrigue and appeasement of both pro-Japanese and pro-Franco elements in the Philippines, much of which is now coming to light for the first time. But there is another story, too, and it has never been told as yet. It is the story of the Hukbalahap itself, how it was organized and how it lived and fought, and that story is one of the most inspiring episodes in the record of the war in the Pacific.

What is the Hukbalahap? What is its program? Is it really made up of seditionists and bandits as certain powerful Filipino and Spanish landowners would have the world believe? It was in search of the answer to these questions that I was guided through the labyrinth of Manila's squalid slum areas to meet Tony Collantes, the acting commander in chief of the Hukbalahap.

We met in a neat *nipaa*—a thatched bungalow with a floor of split bamboos set about half an inch apart so that the warm air came into the house from below as well as through the glassless windows. Brown-skinned Filipino labor leaders and members of the Huk high command welcomed me and introduced me to the commander in chief.

BEFORE the war Tony Collantes was known as Mariano P. Balgos and he was secretary of the Philippine Printers Union, but during the long years of the occupation he lived and fought under a *nom de guerre*, first as political commissar of the Huk and later, after the arrest of his superiors, as commander in chief of an army of 20,000 regulars. What sort of a man is this "bandit" who, until a few weeks ago, was still being sought by American Intelligence? My first impression was one of quiet resolution and granite firmness. It was not a mistaken impression. Collantes listens carefully to everything his associates say, puffs deliberately on his briar pipe, and when he speaks it is in a soft voice and with conciseness and clarity. His English is perfect and, from occasional asides in Tagalog, I gathered that his command of the national language is as good. I could not help but think of comparisons with Mao Tse-tung and Marshal Tito, both of whom he greatly admires.

"I realize that there are misconceptions being spread regarding the Hukbalahap," he told me. "These misconceptions spring from those elements who would not only cut the Hukbalahap off from America but also separate us from the Filipino people. The Huk is not an anti-Commonwealth government. We recognize President Osmena as the legal president of the Commonwealth and the Commonwealth Constitution as the legal constitution of the Philippines. We are opposed to civil war and shall fight for the orderly democratic progress of the Philippines.

"But here in the Philippines it is up to us to call a spade a spade and clean house. Before the war our compradores and big feudal landlords protected Japanese interests and persecuted those who warned the people against Japan. During the Japanese occupation they willingly fed the Japanese, helped them in hunting down the guerrillas, and in other ways helped the domination of our country by the enemy. Now, these same fascist elements and their agents are seeking to secure or control governmental positions to the detriment of our country's independence and democratic progress.

"To some degree they have succeeded. We call upon President Osmena and other leaders of our government to remove these enemies of progress. We call upon business, the middle classes, labor and the farmers to lay aside their prejudices against each other and against us, and to unite in the Democratic Alliance so that we can travel steadily and with all possible speed on the highway toward the realization of our great national future."

Collantes traced the history of the rise of the Hukbalahap and its many battles with the Japanese. The Huk was formed on March 29, 1942—three months after the Japanese had seized the Islands—after conferences between trade unionists, peasant leaders, and the united Communist and Socialist Party of the Philippines. Its first military campaigns were inaugurated in the north-central Luzon provinces of Pampanga and Nueva Ecija, where for decades the Philippine peasants have been most brutally exploited by the great feudal landowners. Within a few months Huk

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units had sprung up also in Tarlac and Bulacan provinces and by the end of the year were active in the southern provinces of Laguna and Tayabas and in Rizal and the city of Manila itself.

"We fought a total of more than 1,000 engagements with the enemy and the puppet Philippine constabulary," Collantes said. "In that period we killed 25,000 Japanese and puppets. When the Americans landed we had 20,020 regulars with 3,200 firearms." The arms were seized mostly from the Japanese, although the Huk also equipped itself with machine-guns taken from planes shot down over their territory and had a considerable number of automatic rifles and trench mortars as well.

THE Huk patterned its tactics and policies on those of the Chinese Eighth Route Army. The Chief of the Huk Investigation Department told me that his own textbook was a dog-eared copy of Edgar Snow's *Battle for Asia*, in which there is an account of the Eighth Route Army's organizational structure. The inspiration of Chinese anti-fascists was not limited to one of example, however. The Chinese of Manila, led by the Manila section of the Communist Party of China, formed a special Chinese detachment known as Wha-Chi, which fought alongside their Filipino brothers. The courage and discipline of these Chinese fighters was praised by every Filipino guerrilla leader I met.

The Huk was organized by squadrons. Each squadron had its commander, vice commander, political commissar and investigation and supply officers. The officers enjoyed no special privileges and lived and worked with their men on the same footing, but in battle their authority was unquestioned. But perhaps the most remarkable achievement of the army of the Huk was its social and educational policy. Its mass base was among the peasantry who have sweated for years on the great landed estates and who began to taste for the first time the fruits of democracy and self-government under the Huk. A high official of the Commonwealth Government, not himself a Huk supporter, explained to me the success of the Huk in Nueva Ecija and Pampanga thus: "If you could see how the peasants have to toil for the great landowners of those provinces you would understand the welcome they gave the Hukbalahap. I myself would be a socialist if I lived in those conditions."

Upon entering a district the Huk immediately set up a local BUDC (Barrio United Defense Corps), which was entrusted with defending the barrio (village district) against raiding parties. A barrio meeting was then called and a council elected with subcommittees on sanitation, education and confiscation. The property of collaborators was immediately confiscated and given to the widows and orphans of slain guerrillas.

Classes were held everywhere. The Hukbalahap considered one of its great missions that of wiping out illiteracy in the areas under its control. School sessions were held every day in the army itself and theaters, singing groups and reading classes were set up among the population.

By 1944 the Hukbalahap was so firmly in control of the four great agricultural provinces of central Luzon that payment of taxes to the puppet government had virtually stopped and food deliveries to the occupation armies had shrunk to a trickle. Elected municipal and provincial councils had been set up and an underground government formed which was in actual control of the Huk areas, holding them in trusteeship for the return of President Osmena's Commonwealth government.

Americans will recall the ease with which General MacArthur's columns drove south from the Lingayen landing to Manila. "The reason is simple," Collantes explained. "They were passing through Hukbalahap territory from which the Japanese had already been driven. Three days before the first Americans entered Tarlac we stormed the city and drove out the Japanese."

The Hukbalahap was not the only force of guerrillas operating in the Philippines but its contribution was certainly as great as that of any other and its fighting qualities were recognized by no less a person than the chief of staff to General Walter Krueger of the Sixth Army, who termed the Huk "one of the best fighting units I have ever known."

How then, in the face of this record, can the amazing policy of the US Army be explained? For the fact is indisputable that when the first American troops met the Huk at Tarlac they bore with them orders to disarm immediately, in the thick of the fighting, all members of the People's Army. I have spoken to the first Huk officer to make contact with American troops and he declares that the first request of the American officers was for his detachment to hand over its arms. This while machine-gun and artillery fire was still going on around Tarlac!

The first responsibility for this shameful policy must rest with General MacArthur and the clique of Philippine fascists surrounding him, but ultimately the American people as a whole must bear some share of the shame. For the fact remains that we have, for far too long, allowed MacArthur to follow a policy of outright imperialism in his dealings with the people of the Orient.

MacArthur's policy in the Philippines has unquestionably been one of reaction, of favoritism to the feudal landlords of the old Quezon machine no matter how openly they collaborated with the Japanese. The chief spokesman of these pro-fascist elements is Andres Soriano, a Spaniard with a long record as a pro-Franco agitator in the Islands. Today he is attached to MacArthur's staff in a high advisory position. Informed Filipinos feel that he and his cronies are the true architects of American policy in the Philippines, that it was Soriano who was responsible for the "clearance" of the quisling Roxas, and that Soriano and his fellow-fascists are the ones who are keeping Taruc and Alejandrino in prison.

It must not be forgotten that MacArthur is no stranger in the Philippines. He and his family have been there for many years and have many an iron in the fire when it comes to Philippine business and finance. In the past these interests were protected by his close association with such members of the old Quezon machine as Roxas, Soriano, Elizalde and Basilio Valdez, present chief of staff of the Philippine Army. Perhaps it does not matter that one of his associates was a Japanese collaborator and another a Spanish fascist—they are old friends, business acquaintances, and the sort of people he has been used to dealing with in the past.

Today this combination, which apparently operates with great sums of money at its disposal and with the acquiescence of General MacArthur, has launched a forthright attack on the middle-of-the-road policies of President Osmena. In their Manila papers they are exalting Roxas as a "man of the people" and attacking the government for its weakness and indecision in the face of the tragic problems of ruinous inflation and the reconstruction of a blasted city and an equally blasted economy.

And they are making undeniable headway. Scandal and corruption has been exposed in the government handling of relief supplies and it is beyond question that a majority of Filipinos are discontented and critical of the government's do-nothing policy in regard to

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inflation and profiteering. The forces behind Roxas are making every effort to exploit this discontent and hunger to place their man in the President's office.

Will they succeed? Much depends upon the speed with which the new Democratic Alliance is able to mobilize the people behind its program of democracy and social reform. Already dozens of new progressive organizations have sprung up to carry on the fight against reaction and imperialism. A Committee for Labor Organization is seeking to reestablish the Islands' trade unions. A League for National Liberation is mobilizing business and professional sections of the people around a popular program. A new cooperative organization has been founded with the support of labor. And in Manila a broad Conference of Civic Organizations has been inaugurated to tackle the problem of housing by state control of building materials. The united Communist and Socialist Party of the Philippines is conducting mass demonstrations for the trial of the collaborators and a living wage for the people.

But perhaps the answer to the question of the future of the Philippines depends even more upon the action taken in the United States. For if imperialist reaction succeeds Japanese militarism in the Islands then we in America must bear a great part of the responsibility and the shame.

The people of the Philippines are holding out their hands to us for help. "Tell all Americans," Collantes begged me as I left, "that our struggle is theirs. If they know the truth I have no doubts that they will come to our support. Tell them that truth."

The people of the Philippines expect an answer. They expect us to call for the immediate liberation of Taruc and Alejandrino. They expect us to bring General MacArthur to book, and that in no uncertain terms. They expect us to demand that every Japanese collaborator and Spanish fascist in the Islands be put behind bars. And they expect us to make it known, once and for all, that progressive Americans will never allow our flag to cloak fascist intrigues and the installation of the old-style imperialist government in Manila.

Readers will be interested to know that material in this article was gathered by the author in consultation with the leaders of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands. Conclusions he has drawn may be considered to reflect their analysis of some aspects of the present situation in the Islands.—The Editors.

BLUEPRINT FOR POGROMS

By DOROTHY ROBERTS

In last week's installment of this series on the plottings of America's fascist front Miss Roberts, who is a midwest newspaper woman, told of attending a convention of fifth-column groups in Detroit. The convention, camouflaged as the Congress of Monetary Organizations, was held at what is called the "Women's White House," 8127 E. Jefferson St., whose hostess is Mrs. Blanche Winters, identified with phony "mothers'" groups. Among the leading figures at the convention were Homer Maertz, one-time German-American Bund leader, Hudson de Priest, Ernest F. Elmhurst and Col. E. N. Sanctuary, the latter two defendants in last year's sedition trial and still under indictment. Also prominent were two fuehrers of former Senator Reynolds' American Nationalist Party, John Scott and Charles G. Smith.

Detroit.

THAT night after the session had adjourned I met Ernest Elmhurst, who had just arrived with the unpublished manuscript of his forthcoming book, *The Synopsis*, a burlesque in foul anti-Semitic doggerel of the sedition trial. Elmhurst, born Hermann Fleischkopf, speaks with a thick German accent and was a delegate from the United States to the congress of the international Nazi propaganda ring, World Service, held at Erfurt, Germany, in 1937. His false teeth are solid gold throughout, and the top molars grind restlessly on the lower set when he talks about his pet hate—the Jews.

"To understand the damned Jews," he told me, "you have to understand their division of labor. When the right-wing Jews like Rothschild are under fire, they turn everything over to the left-wing Jews like Frankfurter and Hillman. That's the whole meaning of the New Deal. The right-wing Jews had got themselves into difficulty during the Hoover administration. So they simply switched the country over to their left-wing brothers who took over under Roosevelt. But once you know the tricks of international Jewry, you know that it is the tactic of the Jews to keep control by having their key men in every organization and institution so that no change will upset their rule."

It was Elmhurst who told me that millions of copies of the notorious anti-Semitic forgery, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, would soon be rolling off the presses for distribution in bundle orders throughout grass-roots America. "For the present," he said, "with Russia having so much prestige, and with a depression coming, it's not too wise to concentrate too much of our energy on attacking Communism as such. We should rather devote ourselves to building up the nationalist movement and educating the people about the Jews." "Then," with a sweeping gesture, "we'll have no trouble pushing the Communists out of the way."

This opinion was echoed the next morning by slick, dapper Homer Maertz, who arrived from Chicago to be the main wire-puller of the convention. Maertz, still in his early thirties and endowed with the cunning of a fox, is unquestionably one of the shrewdest men in the American fifth column. Before Pearl Harbor, he acted as liaison man between the Bund and other treason rackets. Acting as one of the Bund's main strategists, he succeeded in bringing sixteen Chicago fascist groups into the Joint Coalition of Patriotic Societies. His assignment is still to combine all American fascists in one united "nationalist" movement.

Maertz's John Barrymore moustache attracted Mrs. Winters, Mrs. Katherine Brown of Philadelphia, president of the Blue Star Mothers of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Lyrl Clark Van Hyning, national president of We the Mothers, two spinster ladies from Iowa—Jane and Emma Wacker—representing the fifth column-controlled National Farmers Guild, and other ladies of varying years and varying degrees of disloyalty who twittered around him. But he was more interested in Rev. Sam Hardin of Tennessee, the sole delegate from the South, de-

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scribed by the preacher as "the least Judaized section of the nation."

"We'll spend more time at first propagandizing for nationalism than propagandizing against Communism," I overheard Maertz say to Hardin. "In the trade unions, of course, we'll direct a lot of fire against Communist leaders. Our people in the unions will be instructed to get up on the floor and ask why Communist leaders are taking their money supposedly to protect their jobs when they are actually using it to pay for Communist propaganda intended to destroy the American home."

"Amen, Brother Maertz," Hardin replied unctuously. "The Communists are using the CIO in the South to bring about 'n———r' equality, and good Anglo-Saxon Christian people will know what to do about that. But what should a God-fearing minister of the Gospel do to wake up the people?"

"Don't get yourself branded and destroy your influence," Maertz warned. "You can put in a word here and there when you are preaching and when you are visiting your people in their homes. We'll have to capture the Protestant clergy to swing this thing, but we don't want them to be put on the spot. After we get the clergy, we'll go after the doctors, the lawyers, the dentists, the teachers and other people who count in their communities. You can't expect too much at the start from the businessmen because their only thought is what they'll be able to get out of it for themselves. The same thing is true of the big church preachers who protect their own incomes by keeping up with the Joneses. But preachers of little congregations like yourself who deal with common people and not fashionable people can do a great deal."

Evidently Maertz had learned caution since he was tried in Chicago some years back on a charge of breaking windows of Jewish stores. But he hadn't learned enough: on October 6, just a few weeks after the Detroit convention, he was arrested at a Christian Front meeting in New York. →

MAERTZ and Hardin were sitting on the railing of the porch. I was standing on the ground directly underneath. "Should I join the Ku Klux Klan?" the preacher asked his pal.

"Yes," Maertz answered, "because you'll get information and make contacts through it. But don't let yourself get too much involved and don't let Colescott, the Imperial Wizard, use you too much."

"How about the American Nationalist Party?" Hardin inquired. (This is ex-Senator Robert R. Reynolds' outfit.)

"Same thing there," Maertz answered. "Join but don't get too thick in it. Personally, I think that a nationalist third party is coming. This convention is just a by-product of the whole nationalist movement. I've been in conference all morning with Colonel Sanctuary, Elmhurst, Hudson de Priest, and some of the other boys on what to do in the future. We feel that the ANP is a good advance guard for a party. But we think that in the first stages of the game we should enter nationalist candidates in the primaries of the old parties. Then when we do get ready for the split, we'll take with us the thousands of people who voted for our candidates.

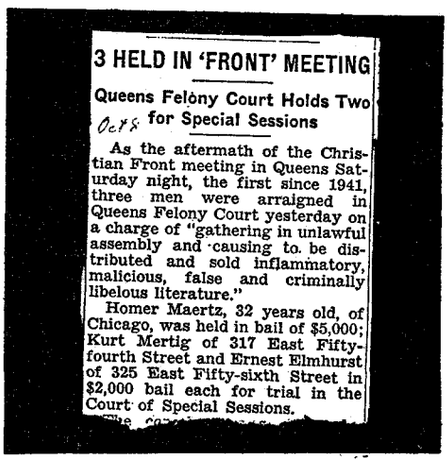
"Last year, I was able to get in with the Republican machine in Chicago and have a young fellow, green to politics, by the name of Charlie Anderson, nominated as their candidate for Congress in the Third District. Well, Charlie under my management in that Democratic district got 140,000 votes and came within 7,000 votes of beating the sitting Congressman, Thomas J. O'Brien. How did we do it? Well, Charlie, who's a nationalist through and through, got himself shaved up and pressed up. I sent out letters to all the Democratic voters, attacking OPA rationing and lend-lease, calling their attention to Charlie's candidacy on the Republican ticket and asking them not to fight him if they couldn't vote for him. There are a lot of Irish Catholics who are Democrats, but who don't like England, in that district. At least, we neutralized them, and I'm telling you that Charlie's going places even if he didn't win this time."

Then Maertz confided to Hardin that Rep. Howard Homan Buffet of the Nebraska District was "our man" and that he was controlled by Henry Kiester, who "elected" him. Kiester, an old time distributor of fifth-column literature, runs a bookstore in Omaha.

Maertz informed Hardin that he was using the mails to the limit in circulating propaganda. "I've reorganized my Pioneer News Service," he said "to release a bulletin which contains nothing but quotations from Jews themselves about their plans to set up a world government. I'm asking patriots throughout the country to send me names of people who will receive the bulletin and different pamphlets which we will mail out. Maybe, 1,800 people in a town will get the bulletin without anybody except a key person or two knowing who all is receiving it. But the key person can pull the piece of literature out of his pocket and ask somebody else who has received it, "What do you think about this?' In that way, we'll know who's favorable, who's hostile, and who's lukewarm, before we go about setting up an organization from our mailing list in that town."

The conversation was interrupted when Maertz and Hardin refused to pose for a picture which somebody wanted. Then Hudson de Priest, who had been in the original sedition indictment but later was dropped, put in his initial appearance and went upstairs with Maertz for the secret sessions of top men which went on constantly while the cranks argued and wrangled about money schemes.

Fuehrer de Priest, a man with a fringe of reddish hair extending around his bald head, was close with his cash and close with his conversation. He asked to be excused from paying a dollar registration fee for the convention on the ground that he had "spent so much money" during the sedition trial. He told me that he was "against the Jews," and that "this movement would free America of them."



3 HELD IN 'FRONT' MEETING

Queens Felony Court Holds Two Oct 8 for Special Sessions

As the aftermath of the Christian Front meeting in Queens Saturday night, the first since 1941, three men were arraigned in Queens Felony Court yesterday on a charge of "gathering in unlawful assembly and causing to be distributed and sold inflammatory, malicious, false and criminally libelous literature."

Homer Maertz, 32 years old, of Chicago, was held in bail of $5,000; Kurt Mertig of 317 East Fifty-fourth Street and Ernest Elmhurst of 325 East Fifty-sixth Street in $2,000 bail each for trial in the Court of Special Sessions.

Maertz and company get a proper reception in New York (N. Y. *Times*, Oct. 8).

DURING the two remaining days of the session, Elmhurst, Maertz, and Charles G. Smith, Queens County organizer of the American Nationalist Party, took time to circulate in chummy fashion among the delegates, sounding them out on their attitudes toward the Jews when the upstairs conferences were not in progress. Old General Coxey, not realizing the purpose for which he was being used, spoke in private conversations of the accomplishments of organized labor and of the need for unity between whites and Negroes. Jesse T. Kennedy, of Chicago,

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publisher of the "nationalist" *Federated World*, was jealous of John G. Scott of 1165 Broadway, New York, publisher of a fifth-column sheet called *Money*. Kennedy was sore because Scott sat him down in short order whenever he arose to speak. Francis St. Clair, a Coughlin leader employed by the American Telegraph and Telephone Co., arrived from Port Jefferson, N. Y., and was admitted to the inner circle as was a Detroit factory worker by the name of Dessie. "We're going to make it so hot for the Jews and Communists in Michigan that they'll wish they had never been born," Dessie said laughingly to a group which included Smith, Maertz, and Elmhurst.

All hell broke loose in a night session when Sherman Bainbridge, editor of the *Townsend Weekly*, addressed the group. Bainbridge spoke against "the Wall Street bankers" whom he accused of preventing enactment of the Townsend Old Age Program. After he had finished, several of his listeners began pressing him to identify the bankers as Jews. Bainbridge called their hand by replying sharply: "Well, I was told before I came here that I was going to talk to a bunch of Jew-baiters."

"Why did you come then?" Mrs. Van Hyning screamed back at him.

Another rumpus took place on the same evening when Gerald L. K. Smith's followers, who had not been invited to the convention, came and began making speeches in favor of their leader's America First Party. Maertz hates Smith because the latter is trying to beat him to the job of coordinating all the local fifth-column organizations under a single head who Homer thinks should be Maertz and not Gerald. The unbidden America Firsters left after being permitted to announce a lecture in the Farwell Building by their leader on the following Sunday. Before leaving, they placed a big bundle of his publication, *The Cross and the Flag*, on the literature table.

At a women's session held in the garden the following afternoon Mrs. Brown made quite a little speech. "Let's stop pussy-footing," she shouted. "We're crusading against the international bankers. Let's identify the bankers for who they are—the Jews. Let's learn how to do as good in politics as our enemy, the PAC. It got out and worked among the people in the last election. Let us do the same thing and victory will be ours.

"We'll have to fight within from three to five years," she continued. "When we get ready to fight, the Leader will appear."

Mrs. Brown bragged about how the Philadelphia police had helped her close a Bundles for Britain store when the Blue Star Mothers picketed the place. She expressed pleasure that a mob had smashed another such store in San Francisco. Then she proposed a "Bundles for Dixie" slogan "since the people of the South are so needy and we ought to start building down there among those splendid folks. They are of the stock of Abraham Lincoln who was assassinated by world Jewry through the Sephardic Jew, John Wilkes Booth."

Mrs. Van Hyning, speaking at the same session, bragged that "We the Mothers did not buy bonds and refused to do Red Cross work. We love the boys—all the boys of the world forced to give up their lives for the Jew profiteers."

She was followed by each of the Wacker sisters with the older, Emma, pumping it up for the Farmers Guild as an offset to both the American Farm Bureau Federation and the Farmers Union which, she claimed, were controlled by "Wall Street Jews under Barney Baruch." Her sister, Jane, intimated that "Jews in Washington" had slipped poison into the coffee of a former president of the Farmers Union.

On Sunday, the final day of the convention, Hardin was one of several speakers to conduct "religious" service. Having acquired a clean pair of pants somewhere, the preacher delivered his sermon from two texts—the raising up of the Golden Calf in the wilderness and Christ's scourging of the money lenders from the temple.

"Breaking the calf did not stop the Jews from worshipping it," he bellowed. "They were still worshipping it when Christ chased the money lenders who were all of that accursed race out of the temple. This movement, brothers and sisters, is taking up where Christ left off. We're going to chase the money lenders out of our country, and we don't care how we do it. Of course, I love the soul of a Jew who becomes a Christian as much as I love the soul of anybody else. But the Jews crucified Christ and they've crucified America. We've got to join hands and take America down from their cross of gold."

A few minutes after Hardin had finished speaking, he and Maertz walked over toward a shed to join Elmhurst, Dessie, Mrs. Brown, St. Clair, the Wacker women, and several others. I overheard a remark about going to hear

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"Ernest's manuscript read at Russ' place." The group piled into three cars and drove east down Jefferson Avenue.

A couple of hours afterward, I pleaded a headache to one of the elderly delegates and asked him to telephone the home of Russell M. Roberts, Detroit manufacturer and one-time financial angel of the plug-ugly Nazi front group, the National Workers League, which joined with the Klan to instigate the 1943 riots at the Sojourner Truth Negro housing project. Roberts has also found jobs in his plant on the outskirts of the city for numerous fifth columnists seeking to be deferred by their draft boards as "essential workers."

Sure enough, a woman answered the telephone and told my friend that "Mr. Elmhurst is here. Wait a minute. I'll call him." "Hang up the phone," I told the old gentleman. "My head hurts too bad to talk."

I had had enough. I boarded the streetcar and returned to my hotel. And as I lay down on my bed to digest my impressions of three days in a rat-hole, I wondered: how long, America? How long until we wake up and smash the fifth column? Or shall we wait until the fifth column consolidates its forces and smashes us?

There's not much time left for us to decide.

In a concluding article next week Miss Roberts will tell the inside story of the struggle for power among the various fifth column groups and fuehrers.

A STRIKE IN AUTO?

By ABNER W. BERRY

Detroit.

IF THERE were illusions some weeks ago that the auto barons could be taken on one by one and brought to terms, that illusion is dissipated today. Union leaders know now that the Big Three—General Motors, Chrysler and Ford—have assumed leadership over the entire industry. The Big Three are cracking the whip and are not inclined to permit any company to become the basis of a "formula." In effect the giants of auto who preach "rugged individualism" as the "American way" are combining for collective action against the people's reconversion program.

As this is written the workers are preparing for strike votes. Most of these votes will be taken during the next three or four weeks. Under the leadership of the Big Three, the magnates are girding for a showdown. And if those not close to the scene think that this is a struggle limited only to the wage issue, please be informed that the magnates are not so naive. In trade journals and through authoritative spokesmen, not so well known to the general public, the full program of the industrial leaders is being announced. This program is to: (1) break the union; (2) defeat the Truman reconversion proposals in Congress; (3) break the price ceilings set by OPA; and, most important for the country as a whole (4) initiate a general deflationary movement that may end in a depression.

Now, of course, the auto manufacturers do not say this in their full-page ads to the public. Nor do they say this to the press generally. But they do say it among themselves and in such a way that the full program or parts of it can be denied even as it is being carried out —or attempted to be carried out. Here is the program put together from industry sources:

John Scoville, until a few weeks ago the Chrysler economist, writing in *Barron's*, a leading Wall Street financial journal, had this to say about the Full Employment Bill:

"The guaranteed right to a job in private industry is a promise the government cannot meet—a right the government cannot grant—without replacing freedom with Communism.

"A full employment or right-to-work law enables job seekers to injure employers. This is a perversion of the function of the law."

Mr. Scoville, now outgrown his position at Chrysler, is a private consultant to the auto industry. In the same article he hits at unemployment compensation as a device to "make it easier to live without working," and minimum wage laws as "making labor more expensive."

When Mr. Scoville was a spokesman for Chrysler he issued his now much-quoted fair wage definition: ". . . wages that are just high enough to attract the required number of employes of the desired quality. No unions are required to secure fair wage rates."

Now one might say that this is not a program for the auto manufacturers; this is only the mouthings of a minor salaried employe. But let's look a little further.

In a recent edition of the *Munn Automobile News Letter*, an authoritative industry sheet, there appeared the following:

"Perhaps the only solution [to the strike threat]is a policy of sitting tight and waiting until the economic pinch forces workers to realize they must stay on the job or starve. At the moment there is no disposition on the part of management to become frantic over labor unrest."

These ideologues and morale builders of big business are not talking into a barrel. They are speaking to and for hard-headed businessmen who know what they want and, as has been shown in other countries, will not hesitate to wreck entire nations to get it. Go back over the program and it will be seen that what the business leaders of America's arsenal of democracy are telling the people amounts to this:

"Come, let us work together for a nice depression. Remember the fun we had the last time?"

There is more to this imaginary quotation than comedy relief in this reconversion drama. I can assure you that Ralph E. Blodgett, an advertising executive who works closely with the auto industry, was never more serious than when he said:

"It is to be hoped that depressions are never abolished, for they have many desirable features. Those who learn to [ride the business cycle] can find as many advantages in depressions as in booms. . . . That very name 'depression' is inappropriate. It horribly maligns those great periods so full of splendid opportunities and human benefits. . . . We ought to show all the people that we need those 'depressions.'"

It may be hard to read this with a straight face but it's the straight, uninhibited and undiluted postwar program of monopoly capital. And the struggle of the auto workers, which takes the form of a simple wage dispute, is really the fight for a people's reconversion pro-

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gram as against the planned chaos of the magnates.

Out on Cass and Milwaukee, in the midst of a bustling business district, is the conservative three-story red brick structure which houses the international offices of the United Automobile Workers-CIO. The General Motors buildings, grey and stately, figuratively look down their noses at the union house squatting in their shadows. Inside the UAW building you find out what is behind the industry's program; what sort of iron goes into its mainspring. J. H. Wishart, UAW research director, was both courteous and efficient. From him I learned the following (please forgive the statistics):

General Motors salted away in "contingency reserves" in the four war years, after taxes, over $76,000,000; another $43,000,000, after taxes, was hoarded by Chrysler. This total of two leading companies amounting to $119,000,000, is greater than all the profits for the same period (1941-44) of twenty-seven other firms in the field.

The other twenty-seven companies had profits of $72,000,000.

I mention this in order to show how monopoly has grown and to show the economic basis for GM's leadership in the field.

But what, and who, is behind General Motors?

The DuPont family own 10,000,000 shares of GM stocks, which gives it the full controlling interest. In 1939 this stock was worth $360,000,000. During the war years it has grown to its present "value" of $750,000,000. A neat little profit. But in addition, there were dividends on the stock during this time of some $102,000,000. Note that *one* family received more during the war from *one* concern than some twenty-seven firms.

Nor is that all. GM also exercises control over a number of feeder companies and can dictate policy and control their relations with the labor movement. This is the giant with which the men of the UAW must wrestle.

Ford, after going along with the Big Three for a while, has now resumed production, calling all of those laid off back to work. Union men are not sure whether this means that some companies fear deflation through depleted savings, or whether the competition with other companies dictated the policy. It is well known that each company vies with the other in getting new models in production first. And there is a fear in some quarters of the industry, despite the efforts to coerce the workers, that the employers' sitdown can last too long. This fear exists mainly among the smaller companies which did not pile up such large reserves. So far this has not produced much of a fissure in the employers' ranks, but it remains a factor in favor of the union.

Union leaders told me of another consideration behind the companies' stalling: the expectation that the excess profits tax will be sharply cut or killed beginning Jan. 1, 1946. The UAW leaders point out that many companies are not interested in showing much of a profit for the next two months, figuring that the tax cuts in 1946 will pay for the stalling now. From the companies themselves there is little talk of anything like mass volume before Christmas. Even Ford, who is producing, announces that "by Christmas" there will be only some 125,000 vehicles of all sorts manufactured. The companies seem to be timing production to meet the 1946 market.

Will there be a strike? If so, when? These are the questions persons outside the auto center are asking. In general, from what one sees of the industry's plans, a strike in the immediate future would be rather welcome. They could then throw all the blame for the delay on the workers. Now they fall back on the old dodge of "fear of strikes." Dates have been set for strike votes in the Big Three plants here. These strike votes, however, are mandates to the leadership empowering them to call strikes at the opportune time *after all avenues of peaceful settlement have been exhausted.*

A majority of the union leadership here believes that while a strike in the coming weeks would be a mistake, nevertheless there must be energetic preparation for strike action in the event future negotiations fail. Needless to say, the workers are restless and the question of trade union discipline assumes great importance from day to day, for a number of wildcat strikes in smaller plants could upset the over-all strategy.

It is well known that there are factions in the UAW, a development which makes almost inevitable contradictions and vacillations in policy. However, from talks with both leaders and rank and file union men I am convinced that there is a strong current within the union in favor of liquidating the factional strife and building a united organization. Space does not permit a full discussion in this phase of the Detroit story. It deserves separate treatment. It is important to mention here because union factionalism enables the companies to make overtures for a "soft peace."

In the full-page advertising campaign conducted by GM there was an inkling of this "soft peace" strategy. For instance, on October 4 the ad read, "[Higher wages] requires . . . better ways of doing all the things that must be done to produce and deliver products to consumers at reasonable prices. *This takes time.*" (My emphasis.)

The inference here is clear: If you fellows will only help us get higher prices, cut our working force and increase the speedup, then you can have your higher wages. It was nice bait and there were some in the union who wavered on the question of acceptance or rejection.

What are the real issues? Are the workers asking for a wage increase to offset the high cost of living? In answer to this latter question one gets a loud "Hell, no!" The peg upon which the people's reconversion program rests is simple: the auto workers are fighting to preserve their take-home pay, which has dropped during the last few months from an average of sixty dollars (in Detroit) to below forty-five dollars. This has nothing to do with the actual, though hidden, wage cut suffered from the price rises. That cut, unionists tell me, will be taken care of later: "Brother, we've got to do one thing at a time."

Strike or no strike, there is a major struggle on here for the mass mind. The UAW has taken to the radio and the newspapers with trailer announcements and chatty ads. Merchants and professionals who would suffer most from a depression are being recruited in the fight. Gradually the population is learning that this is no wage dispute involving only companies and workers; it's the people against monopoly.

Alfred P. Sloan, chairman of the board of General Motors, made this contribution to the fight: "I should certainly rather be guided," he wrote to a stockholder, "by the minority of opinion of the people of the United States than I would by the majority."

Mr. Sloan, whose income is $166.15 per hour, sleeping or waking, heads the company whose slogan is: *Victory was our business!*

The workers and the people generally had something to do with the victory business. They are on the march to see whether or not the democracy and the four freedoms they fought for have anything in common with Mr. Sloan's concept.

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WHY A VETERAN'S BONUS

By Pfc. JOSEPH SOKOL

THE crescendo of returning veterans brings to a head the question of an immediate increase in demobilization pay or a bonus for our returning servicemen. Outside the Army little has been said or printed on the subject. However, since as long ago as last March a bonus for veterans has been a principal topic among GI's. The bonus has been hashed and rehashed in a thousand bull-sessions, in theaters of action and in the States, in the field, PX's and orientation hours. Letters-to-the-editor columns, the most widely read sections of *Stars and Stripes* and *Yank*, have dealt more frequently with a bonus than any other single issue.

The concern of GI's for an immediate bonus isn't hard to understand. Many of them have been in the Army for three to five years. They will be resuming life at scratch. Few servicemen, especially among the lower grades, have any savings. Complete wardrobes, from shorts and socks to shoes and suits, have to be bought. Four to five hundred dollars for clothes is an early "must" expenditure. Wives and children who hitherto have been supported by monthly government allotments of $50, $80 and $100, have to be cared for. Food has to be purchased. Homes and rooms have to be rented and furnished. In the face of these bare necessities, and of reconversion joblessness, mustering-out pay of $100 monthly for three months is ridiculously inadequate. The GI Bill of Rights provides unemployment compensation of $20 weekly for one year. But that too is too niggardly to permit a fresh start. Will the joy of servicemen over their return be marred by economic misery and cynical disillusionment?

It is a commentary on the relations prevailing between soldiers and civilians that the public has heard so little about the bonus question. Perhaps this is due to the sensational publicity which was accorded the GI Bill of Rights. The educational provisions of this bill, when liberalized somewhat, will satisfy the younger veterans. The older servicemen —those in their late twenties and over who will not be returning to schools, are given scant consideration.

In Britain, thanks to the efforts of labor, returning servicemen receive, in addition to mustering-out pay, civilian clothing wardrobes, continuance of pay and family allowances for several months after discharge. Those servicemen who were in business before induction are awarded resettlement grants of £150 to reestablish themselves. In the Soviet Union where socialism assures job abundance veterans are not confronted with unemployment. Nevertheless, the Soviet government is providing liberal cash bonuses to veterans on a graduated scale for each year of service. Rank and file soldiers receive a year's pay for each year's service; sergeants, six months' pay for each year; officers, two months' salary for one year of service and one months' salary for each additional year.

It is this lack of a graduated pay scale in Senator Guffey's proposed bonus legislation which GI's are criticizing today. Guffey demands a year's pay as an immediate bonus payment to every soldier. However, GI's feel that every serviceman should receive equal bonus consideration regardless of rank. They say that officers and highest grade enlisted men have, comparatively "ridden the gravy train" long enough. Guffey's bill is more fuel for the train.

The bonus principles widely accepted by servicemen call for payments spread over a period of months, based on length and character of service. Congressman Rankin, seeking to head off developments for his own sinister ends, introduced a $1,040 bonus bill (twenty dollars weekly for fifty-two weeks). This was rejected in May by the House Veterans Committee.

Then R. J. Thomas, of the United Automobile Workers-CIO, proposed a measure jibing with GI principles. The UAW proposed payments of three dollars a day for every day in the service, four dollars for every day in the service overseas, and $500 for every Purple Heart, with a maximum of $4,500. This is pending now before the House Veterans Committee.

Decklinger.

Here organized labor has raised the bonus issue in a form which meets the needs and demands of our returning servicemen. It is still in the discussion stage, however, while millions of veterans are on their way to "civvy street." Moreover, discussion is confined to a single sector of the trade union movement, the UAW-CIO, whereas it must spread up and down the entire organized labor front.

The principal veterans organizations, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion, have been traditionally reluctant to act on bonus proposals. They are continuing that tradition. Liberals delight in sniding the old-line veteran organizations as "pressure groups." Yet the fact remains that these organizations will not raise the bonus question without a deep demand from below.

This will emerge when the bulk of the veterans take their place in these organizations and make themselves felt. Meanwhile, here is labor's responsibility and opportunity: To provide leadership in the struggle for a bonus, to popularize the UAW bonus proposal and make it part of our national laws. Thereby labor will draw into its wake the veterans and their organizations.

At present the VFW and the American Legion are preoccupied with amendments liberalizing the GI Bill of Rights —which is to the good. The Legion (but not the VFW) recently has been making a case for General Hershey's 190A, the "super-seniority" clause which labor opposes unitedly. This is the interpretation of the Selective Service Act which asserts that a veteran of this war is entitled to his former job for one year, notwithstanding his seniority or the seniority of the incumbent worker. That is, provided that the veteran did not replace an inducted worker when he obtained the job originally.

This affects an estimated twenty percent of the returning servicemen and is obviously anti-union. The CIO and AFL Executive Councils have taken the positions that seniority for Army

(*Continued on page 28*)

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PSYCHOANALYSIS TODAY

By J. B. FURST

In its issues of October 2 and 9 NEW MASSES *published two articles by Joseph Wortis on trends in psychoanalysis and what he found wrong with them. Both articles have aroused widespread discussion. The following article (the second half of which will appear next week) by Dr. Furst presents a point of view opposed to that of Dr. Wortis. Dr. Furst is an instructor in psychiatry at the Jefferson School.* NEW MASSES *invites its readers to join in the discussion.*

THE progressive movement has long been interested in psychoanalysis. This interest has been recently stimulated by the appearance of new developments away from Freudian psychoanalysis, which have had their most popular expression in the works of Dr. Karen Horney. Progressives are sharply divided on all schools of psychoanalysis. Some accept one or another version enthusiastically; some regard it as a more or less necessary evil, and many reject it outright, or nearly so. Dr. Joseph Wortis's recent articles in the NEW MASSES are essentially an expression of the latter point of view.

The primary source of Marxist criticism of Freudian psychoanalysis lies in the philosophical basis of Freud's theories. Freud studied personality through the scientific approach of the late Victorian era. Thus his official philosophy was mechanical materialism, but his deeper outlook was that of idealism. This hidden idealist position is clearly seen in the Freudian theories concerning wars, the capitalist system, form of the family, etc., which are all regarded as being derived from man's personality and instincts. Thus Freud clearly placed mind first and matter second. The reactionary conclusions and general errors of Freudianism are not essentially different from those of other systems based on idealist philosophical principles.

Freudianism has certain specific psychological errors resulting from its idealist base. Freudianism takes away all human dignity by reducing ethical and humanitarian motives to sublimated expressions of thoroughly selfish and base instincts. It places a marked over-emphasis on man's sexual life, which has offended the common sense of others besides Marxists. It emphasizes the historical development of the individual and tends to neglect present problems. It nearly negates consciousness in favor of unconscious mental activity. It expresses a biological, instinctual view of man doomed to ever more severe conflict between his social organization and his inner instinctual drives. Thus it tends finally to a hopeless position towards the possibility of changing human nature, which Freud clearly expressed in the writings of his later years.

Dr. Wortis discussed these last three points in a general way and indicated that all types of psychoanalysis suffer from these specifically Freudian errors. He advocated new methods of treatment and intimated that all psychoanalysis should largely disappear.

However, Marxists do not summarily dispose of a theoretical system because of its idealist basis. A good example of this is Hegelian philosophy which despite its idealist base was used extensively by Marx and Engels in the development of dialectical materialism.

In spite of its idealist shortcomings, the fact is that psychoanalysis has had a considerable development and occupies a very important place in the medical and psychological world, as Dr. Wortis himself indicated. Psychoanalysis cannot be disposed of in the manner suggested by Dr. Wortis; it is a very lively phenomenon, and its liveliness and present importance are not to be overlooked or dismissed as accidental. They rest on four foundations:

1. Psychoanalysis was the first satisfactory treatment for the neuroses. In one form or another it is still the only satisfactory treatment for them, all other treatments failing entirely or giving only partial or temporary relief.

2. Psychoanalytic formulations (unconscious mental activity, repression, emotional conflicts, projection, etc.), are the theoretical basis of nearly all forms of psychotherapy—case work, group therapy, hypnosis, etc.

3. Psychoanalytic theory has so entered the present-day body of psychiatry that the two are inseparable. If these formulations were removed, psychiatry would be reduced to the sterile, descriptive, therapeutically powerless status of fifty years ago.

4. Psychoanalysis is a research tool of unparalleled importance in the exploration of human personality.

Freudian psychoanalysis obviously would be of no importance, nor could it ever have developed into modern psychoanalysis, if it had consisted entirely of errors and misconceptions. Freudianism embodied great internal contradictions and closely resembled Hegelian philosophy in this respect. Freudianism and Hegelianism both had a backward and reactionary side, but each had also a positive, constructive side. Both contained important methods of thought and factual observations which, though buried in a vast theoretical structure, were nevertheless of extraordinary value. Hegelianism contained principles which were developed into dialectical materialism. Freudianism contained principles which are now part of all psychiatry and psychotherapy and which have been developed into a modern psychoanalysis that is as nearly different from Freudian analysis as Marxism differs from Hegelianism.

IN addition to the idealist errors of Freudianism, there are two other special reasons why large sections of the progressive movement have overlooked the contributions and further development of Freudianism.

The first and simpler reason is that psychoanalysis has frequently been dismissed as a bourgeois phenomenon and neuroses have been regarded as bourgeois illnesses. There is no doubt that psychoanalysis arose in a bourgeois atmosphere and was practiced on bourgeois patients; until ten or fifteen years ago it was very expensive since treatments were required five or six days a week. However, new techniques have been developed, allowing satisfactory therapy to take place in one to three treatments a week, thus bringing it within practical reach of greater sections of people. This is not the main argument, however. Nearly all modern science has had a bourgeois origin and development, but the working class does not reject science because of its expense or bourgeois origins. The historical role of the working class is to salvage all that is good and useful from our present cultural heritage and to make it available to everybody regardless of expense.

The idea that a neurosis is a bourgeois self-indulgence is also theoretically and practically incorrect. Workers themselves have many psychiatric illnesses. Marx pointed out that workers live in a competitive society and com-

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pete with each other. In spite of their cooperative productive relations they do not escape the generally poisonous atmosphere of capitalism. The observed facts agree with this. Farmers and workers have a sufficiently high incidence of mental illness to make psychiatry a major necessity in any clinic. Furthermore, one-third of all draftees (representing the masses of the nation) were rejected at the initial physical examination. Neuro-psychiatric rejections amounted to one-third of the rejections, and totalled 1,825,000 cases. By the fall of 1944, 800,000 men were discharged from the Army, forty-five percent of these being for psychiatric reasons. The working class has a high incidence of mental illness which must be treated by psychiatric and psychotherapeutic methods.

THE second and more complex reason for the rejection of psychoanalysis lies in certain misunderstandings and over-simplifications of dialectical materialist theory itself. Dialectical materialism is very clear on the relation of mind to matter. Matter exists independently of, and prior to, mind. Thought is a product of matter organized in a complex way. Further, the ideology (and therefore the personality) of man is secondary to the material conditions of his existence, his social organization.[1] Man's social organization determines his psychological structure; man's personality is a reflection of his direct and indirect, past and present human relations. Marx and Engels repeated these formulations many times. "Every ideology, however, once it has arisen, develops in connection with the given concept material, and develops this material further; otherwise it would cease to be ideology, that is, occupation with thoughts as with independent entities, developing independently and subject only to their own laws. That the material life conditions of the persons inside whose heads this thought process goes on, in the last resort determine the course of this process, remains of necessity unknown to these persons, for otherwise there would be an end to all ideology." [2]

Reading and not completely understanding such passages, Marxists have often come to doubt the importance or even the existence of psychology. If the psychology of man is secondary to his social relations, then psychology itself must be of secondary importance. Or else the distinction between psychology and sociology is lost altogether, and sociology is directly substituted for psychology. A more sophisticated view is that psychology will naturally follow from an understanding of sociology and the functioning of nerve tissue, that sociology and nerve physiology can be combined to produce psychology. The idea has further arisen that personality, being the reflection of social relations, is therefore passive, and that personality can be readily modified by changing the social relations of the adult individual.

These confusions about psychology are expressed in many ways:

1. "There is something fundamentally idealist and reactionary about any talking treatment (psychotherapy)." (A remark the author has heard.)

2. Psychotherapy will be replaced with physiological treatments because so-called psychological illnesses are really all caused by still-undiscovered malfunctions of the nervous system and are therefore organic in nature.

3. Psychotherapy will give way to "activity," i.e., treatment of the social relationships of the patient.

4. Psychoanalysis, as the supreme example of the psychological treatments, is therefore most wrong of all.

The main source of progressive opposition to psychoanalysis arises from these confusions over the existence or importance of psychology, rather than from a critical analysis of the specific errors and contributions of psychoanalysis itself. The confusions about psychology lead ultimately to a rejection of all psychotherapy, including analysis, which is not a special case.

The discussion of both psychoanalysis and psychotherapy therefore must rest on a proper understanding of psychology. Let us accordingly examine the possible basis for a materialist psychology.

ALTHOUGH the brain of man is capable of accurately reflecting and knowing objective reality, the processes occurring in the brain are entirely different from those occurring in the objective phenomenon itself. This is very clearly seen in the case of a man watching a battle. If the processes in his brain were identical with those he is watching, he himself would be destroyed. Therefore we must make a clear distinction between psychological processes and objective processes. Personality is derived from social relations, but it is not the same as social relations; psychology is not sociology.

Furthermore, psychological processes are natural processes and have their own laws. For example, let us consider another natural process for a moment. Matter, organized in an enormously complex manner, i.e., in the body of a bird, develops the powers of flight. But birds do not *just fly*. They fly in certain definite ways, predetermined by all the other properties of matter both external to the bird (gravity, air-resistance, etc.), and internally in the organic properties of matter organized as bone, feathers, muscle, etc.

Matter organized in an even more complex manner develops the properties of consciousness, thought, and human personality. This personality has definite characteristics (laws) determined both by the external world (sociology) and by the internal world (nerve physiology). But we must make a very clear distinction between sociology, physiology, and psychology. Social relations are reflected by the mechanics of nerve physiology and become something entirely different, i.e., psychology, which is neither physiology nor sociology.

The laws of the production and operation of thought have to be empirically discovered. They cannot be synthesized from dialectical materialism itself. Philosophy can ensure that we realize the correct relation of mind to matter and can ensure our correct methodological approach, but it can do little else. Furthermore, psychological laws cannot be *predicted* from a knowledge of sociology or physiology, even with the aid of philosophy. The facts must be discovered themselves.

A very characteristic law of personality is that it is an active process. Personality is a reflection of the objective world, but it is not a passive or a dead reflection. If thought were a passive process, it could not imagine an event till it occurred. Reason is chained to the laws of the objective world with terrible chains; if it breaks these laws it is wrong, unreasonable. Yet reason is not a passive mirror of the world or it would always be "right"; the fact that we must take such pains to make it correspond with reality shows we are dealing with an active process that often goes astray. The best proof of the activity of personality is that it is *alive*, a function of living, organic matter which itself is an active, unstable organization of inert matter.

Individual personality takes form entirely as a result of what has happened to it in life and is not determined by any

[1] *History of C.P.S.U.*, p. 115.

[2] Engels, *Lugwig Feuerbach*, 1935, ed., pp. 65-66.

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inherited instincts whatsoever.[3] Once formed it is quite cohesive; although always in process of slow change, an extraordinary continuity runs through it. This cohesiveness gives people their character and long-recognizable individuality. Adult personality is highly stable and is by no means a passive reflection of present social relations and activities. If this were so, it would be impossible for a Communist living among Nazis to escape becoming a Nazi himself. Or a man could not spend four years in the radically changed activities and social relations of army life and return home recognizable as his former self.

THE scientists of the USSR have faced these same problems over the existence of a materialist psychology and have evidently come to similar conclusions: "The closest and most necessary connection obtains between the laws of thought and the laws of nature, since thought is itself a product of matter and knowledge is a reflection of matter, a reflection of natural phenomena. Although thought and knowledge are reflections of being, *they have their own properties and peculiarities.*" (Emphasis mine, J.B.F.) [4] Further, in discussing an early Soviet school of psychology, Rubenstein says, "This school started from the misleading and totally un-Marxist position that materialism requires the reduction of psychology to physiology, that psychology as a science must be eliminated." [5]

Because psychological processes are separated from physiology and sociology, psychological illnesses and conflicts must be dealt with primarily by psychological methods. Consider the case of a man suffering from anxiety due to intense feelings of inferiority in social situations.[6] The anxiety is manifested by definite bodily changes (respiration, pulse changes, intestinal contractions, etc.) but these changes are *secondary* to the inferiority feelings. Giving a drug to quiet these physiological symptoms will not do away with the inferiority feelings themselves and will only quiet the anxiety symptoms while the effect of the drug lasts. This approach to inferiority feelings by means of drugs is exactly like trying to put out a fire by blowing away its smoke.

Furthermore, we find in practice that

Joseph Hirsch.

putting the man into more and more social situations, even entirely new and beneficial ones, does not produce the curative result we might expect. We actually find that the man is either unable to meet these situations at all, or else enters them in a mechanical way. This result is chiefly due to the fact that his intense conflicts actually prevent him *in advance* from entering into the situations or learning from them. The conflicts are stirred up at the very beginnings of his participation, and either prevent his participation entirely or ensure that he accomplishes little.

The key to change therefore lies not in drugs nor in social situations, but in the inferiority feelings themselves. These feelings not only *cause symptoms*, but *prevent changes* from taking place, and thus they maintain themselves. This neurosis and all neuroses are *self-maintaining systems* of reacting. These self-maintaining reactions explain why the neurotic is rigid, and unable to expand his life as other people do. At thirty he is further behind than at twenty, and at forty he is still further from the activities, feelings, work and family life of ordinary people.

Our man perceives his growing disabilities and he becomes despairing, hopeless, and confused as to the real source of his troubles. These new feelings are added to his original anxiety and inferiority feelings and intensify both of them. A qualitative change occurs, which is based on the many additions and intensifications of old and new feelings. The anxiety has become panic and he is now acutely psychologically sick.

In addition, he may be sleepless from worries and tension, unable to concentrate from fatigue, losing weight, unable to work, etc. If he comes to treatment, the proper drugs will relieve part of his physical symptoms. But, as can be seen from the above steps, these new symptoms are *tertiary developments* of the original inferiority feelings and anxiety. Using drugs is a prerequisite to putting the individual into better shape to face his problems, but the psychological problems will remain after the physical symptoms are gone. And the psychological problems must be treated on their own level, i.e., the psychological level.

DEALING with psychological problems is no simple matter, as every psychotherapist (and every patient) will tell you. There are several outstanding reasons for this.

1. A great part of these neurotic reactions is hidden from sight, i.e., unconscious.

2. The self-respecting reactions themselves resist change by virtue of their automatic character, as discussed previously.

3. There is a normal cohesiveness of adult personality which resists change.

4. The individual is unable to cooperate fully with his physician, even though he is perfectly willing, because he enters the working relationship with his physician much in the same limited fashion as he enters all other human relationships.

The points outlined above show why an individual finds it so difficult to change himself for the better *even when he wants to*. This resistance to change is formidable and is the central problem to be dealt with in all psychotherapeutic procedures. Were it not for these resistances, many of them unconscious, a patient could learn all he needs to know about himself and the world in five or six hours.

The last half of Dr. Furst's article will appear in next week's NEW MASSES.

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[3] J. Marmor, "Role of Instinct in Human Behaviour," *Psychiatry*, Vol. 5, No. 4: pp. 509-516.

[4] E. Shur, "Formal and Dialectical Logic," *Pod Znamenem Marksizma*, 1940, No. 12, p. 71, translated in *Journal of Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Vol. 5, p. 199.

[5] S. Rubenstein, "Soviet Psychology in Wartime," *Pod Znamenem Marksizma*, 1943, p. 44, translated in *Journal of Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Vol. 5, p. 181.

[6] This is only one type of conflict; there are many others.

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THEY SAW STALIN

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington

IT IS perfectly true: the Russians would have to change their ways a great deal if they were to emulate our press here.

It was certainly an oversight on the part of Rep. William M. Colmer (D., Miss.) and his House Subcommittee on Postwar Economic Policy if they did not give Premier Stalin some tips on how to mend his ways and obtain good public relations with American newspapers. Representative Colmer is quite an expert in the art of getting a good press. Take his first press sortie after the seven-man committee's return from a two-month globe-trotting expedition. You could almost write a textbook in journalism on this one feat.

To begin with, it was carefully planned. Now we are sure that there is no aversion to planning as such in the USSR—but after all it is with collective leadership and joint discussion. Chairman Colmer does not operate in that way. When Colmer speaks, he speaks for Colmer. He did allow Rep. Clifford R. Hope, a sturdy Republican from Kansas, almost as reactionary as Mr. Colmer himself, to share the spotlight when an interview was granted the press. But the fulsome five-page press release reporters got as a handout, which began, "Seven members of a House Committee, returning from Europe, urged . . ." represented only Colmer's ideas. So I am informed by one of the seven. He had never seen the so-called report until he picked up the morning paper the day I saw him. There had been no discussion of its contents. He talked at some length with me. But use his name, quote him? This was America, and the capital of America—not that Soviet country of a dictated press and dire repression of which the Colmers always remind us. And yet this Congressman seemed terrified that I might reveal his identity.

"We made an agreement, and I can't say a thing for quotation. Only the chairman can," he said. "We couldn't have everybody sounding off." Later, he said, the committee would issue a report. The press talk was just press talk, he said, "just the chairman's ideas, that's all." He almost seemed to indicate that press talk, in this country of a "free" press, is not to be confused with facts.

The subcommittee is an extremely reactionary group as a whole, with Republicans in the majority, five to two, and my informant is a long way from being a flaming progressive or even a liberal. He is just an honest, fundamentally decent Congressman. Many of his reactions were conservative. He, too, thought Russia ought to allow reporters in Poland and Russian-occupied Germany, and accede to our "free press" standards.

One of the four points of the program to build up world trade Colmer palmed off as the group's (it probably will be voted on but it just hadn't been to date) was "Reconstruction of Germany, without armaments of course, so that Germany can again become a factor in America's world trade." While thus asking for repudiation of the Potsdam agreement—or approving the repudiation of it which is, in fact, taking place in the field—the brazen Messrs. Colmer and Hope told reporters a "general stripping" was in progress in the Russian-occupied zone, with non-war machinery, livestock and even some "American-owned plants" being removed. This, said Hope piously, was not in violation of the Potsdam agreement, but it "concerns us since we are going to be called on to prevent starvation." (But they want our contributions to UNRRA limited to surplus goods including salvage items.)

So, recalling this, I asked my timid but honest friend: "And so you visited Russian-occupied Germany? And did you find it stripped of everything movable?"

"Oh, we didn't go through there," said the Congressman.

"Well, where did Mr. Colmer get the information he issued on the Russian sector of Germany?"

"Oh, that was from Clay," the Congressman replied, alluding to Maj.-Gen. Lucius D. Clay.

"And did Clay comment on the treatment of Jews in Russian-occupied Germany?" I asked. But the Congressman had been consorting with Army officers for two months and apparently was unaware that the civilians at home were not pleased with the policies in the American zone for which Gen. George S. Patton, Jr. finally took the rap. He hadn't heard anything about Jews there.

New Yorkers!

ALP

REPRESENTATIVES COLMER AND HOPE apparently are two hearts that beat as one—as are Colmer and the staunch Michigan Republican, C. Michener, on the House Rules Committee, where Colmer and Democrats E. E. Cox and Howard W. Smith are the poll-tax three who operate an unbreakable machine with the Republicans that consistently blocks progressive legislation.

"We didn't go in for formalities and fulsome praise of Russia—we talked business," said Colmer. "We were the first congressional group to see him."

"Him" meant Stalin. "Yes," Hope put in, "and when he reads this report we will probably be the last."

So I asked my reticent informant about the interview. Oh, he said, Colmer asked the questions, which had been discussed and prepared in advance. "And Stalin answered them—very fully, very satisfactorily, we all thought. He didn't refuse to answer anything. In fact, he answered everything very frankly and fully, and he would have gone on. *He* didn't end the interview. We talked about forty-five minutes."

What was his impression? "He looked well, and was cordial, and—well, he looked like his pictures," he said. "He told us he hoped the same friendship and cooperation his country and ours had maintained during the war would be continued after the war. He said the Russian people thought highly of the American people, felt very friendly.

"We asked how long it would take for them to get back into production. He said it would take a long time to get back to the production even of what they needed at home. And he said they wanted to raise their standard of living. It would be years before they could satisfy all their needs. But they could pay in minerals, and pulp, and in gold, he said—other things, too.

"He said their people had been

(*Continued on page 22*)

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Freedom for Indonesia

DECENT people throughout the world are revolted by the spectacle of Dutch imperialism arrogantly trying to impose itself again upon the 72,000,000 people of Indonesia. At the same time they are heartened by the courageous stand of the Indonesians themselves for liberty and independence. An Indonesian Republic has been proclaimed and Indonesians have armed themselves with equipment seized from the Japanese. Today they hold large sections of the key island of Java, including the great naval base of Surabaya.

It is perfectly easy to understand why, to an Indonesian, the Dutch invader is as much hated as the Japanese. Both govern and exploit in much the same way. Too few foreigners recall the events of 1927 when violent clashes occurred between nationalists and government forces in both Java and Sumatra. In brutal retaliation the Dutch authorities arrested 4,500 Indonesian Communists and sent 1,308 of them to a concentration camp in Dutch New Guinea. During the present war some of these prisoners have escaped to tell the story of over seventeen years of life reminiscent of nothing so much as the Nazi concentration camps of Germany.

The Dutch overlords never succeeded in suppressing the nationalist movement in spite of the imperial policy of terrorism. The Communist Party, formed in 1920, has ever since furnished leadership to the emancipation movement. It is now evident that progressive forces have made great advances during the war. The strength and maturity of the present demand for independence goes far beyond anything which preceded it.

Queen Wilhelmina's imperialist servants are publicizing an offer of dominion status made to the Indonesians and to the colonies in the Caribbean in 1942. No one, least of all the colonial people, who examines this offer can be fooled by it. It is thoroughly fraudulent. The Dutch proposal calls for a Netherlands Empire conference to discuss political reforms. The conference is to have no power other than advisory; it is to be composed of a majority of government appointed delegates; the minority is to be appointed by the government on the nomination of the Indonesian Volksraad, but as the Volksraad itself is composed of government-appointed Dutch and Indonesians, plus members elected by a limited franchise, that itself is far from democratic. Independence, furthermore, is ruled out of discussion.

Workers and other groups in Australia and New Zealand are already giving active aid to Indonesian independence. Americans must join in this important movement. Our government has spoken of a "hands off" policy towards the Dutch East Indies while in fact pursuing an open policy of imperialism in the Far East itself. The Dutch are using American equipment from American lend-lease supplies. By fighting against that policy Americans can give positive aid to the struggle of the Indonesian people.

Rope's End

MANKIND will breathe easier on the day the first twenty-four Nazi leaders are convicted and hanged for the bestial crimes perpetrated during their war to dominate the world. The four-power Nuremburg indictment is the first major step toward punishing the ruthless planned murder of millions of innocents. Among the twenty-four indicted criminals are the representatives of all the social, political and military elements that constituted the power behind German fascism.

The comprehensive nature of the indictments provides a real basis for making the coming trials an education for this and all future generations. The incredible and partly forgotten record of five years of predatory warfare, mass murder, fantastic destruction and untold agony will be telescoped within the brief period of the trial. The fundamental causes of the war can be traced from the banking and industrial combines headed by Schacht and Krupp through the Nazi party, the Hitler government and the General Staff and down to their degenerate tools who operated the gas chambers of Belsen and Oswiecim and the furnaces of Maidanek.

The ghastly evidence that will be introduced at these trials should rekindle the stern resolution of all democratic peoples to exterminate fascism everywhere. And the trials should also shed light on the aftermath of Nazi rule. Revelation of the role of the Krupp interests in the Ruhr ought to provide a commentary on the recent recommendations by American economic experts for preserving German heavy industry—that industry which served as the foundation of fascism.

The chief lesson that all people must learn is that the cause of fascist wars will not be eliminated basically by the hanging of a core or even several thousand Nazi criminals. It is the social and economic sources which reared fascism that must be excised. Those sources were kept alive not only by German bankers and industrialists but by their American counterparts as well. It is too bad that certain Americans will not be in the dock along with the Nazi criminals, for they share in the guilt. They are financiers, they are newspaper publishers, they are the fascist small fry who were part of a deliberate conspiracy to make the United States a satellite of Germany. The blood is on their hands too even though for the time being they escape punishment.

Smokescreen in Argentina

THE demonstration which last week brought the fascist Colonel Juan Peron back into the control of Argentina's Nazi government was not a labor demonstration, as certain American reporters alleged in their dispatches from Buenos Aires. Such reports have led to considerable confusion in this country because of the widely prevalent and correct belief that Argentine labor along with all other democratic sections of the population was dead set against Peron and his gangsters.

The truth of the matter, it is reliably learned from Argentine anti-fascists, is that Peron staged these so-called demonstrations with his own thugs and stormtroopers. The General Confederation of Workers (CGT), which American newspapers claimed had organized the strike, was not involved at all. The CGT, in fact, was dissolved by Peron over two years ago. All of its members, except for a few renegades who sold out to the fascists, now form the core of the anti-fascist movement which seeks to oust not only Peron but the entire Nazi gang. The key to the so-called strike and so-called labor dem-

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onstration was the stoppage of all transportation in the Argentine capital. That stoppage was not the result of a labor strike but actually was carried out by management, which is controlled by the government.

As we wrote last week, the crust of Argentine fascism has been broken, but the democratic ferment below has not yet boiled over to submerge and shatter the fascist power. Until that happens there can be nothing but chaos within the country and the spread of fascist-like developments throughout the hemisphere.

The United States cannot help by remaining aloof. It must speedily press forward a policy designed to obstruct the Argentine fascists and strengthen the Argentine democrats.

Promises to Puerto Rico

THE stage is being prepared for the long-awaited independence of the Puerto Rican people. President Truman's October 16 message to Congress said: "It is now time, in my opinion, to ascertain from the people of Puerto Rico their wishes as to the ultimate status they prefer, and, within such limits as may be determined by the Congress, to grant them the kind of government which they desire." This carries forward a policy initiated by President Roosevelt. President Truman's message, however, does not solve the problem; it simply prepares the way for solution. There are several requirements to be met before that solution is reached. Congress must draft and pass a bill providing for a fair plebiscite. With the present Congress that will not take care of itself automatically.

The plebiscite itself and the preparations for it must be carried out in such a way as to create the least amount of confusion among the Island voters. Puerto Ricans must be given the opportunity to express their choice freely in the certain knowledge that their wishes will be accepted. Independence, for instance, must not be nullified in the name of military necessity.

By discouraging the appearance on the plebiscite ballot of alternatives which are either unconstitutional or unacceptable to the US Congress, alternatives such as statehood or dominion status, President Truman has acted wisely. Senator Tydings seems to be forwarding that suggestion in Congress by proposing the simple alternatives of independence or further steps toward self-government within the colonial relationship. Even though Senator Tydings' motives as representative of mainland sugar interests may be suspect, the result coincides with the interests of the Puerto Rican people and therefore deserves support.

There can be no question in what direction Puerto Ricans want to move. The chief danger that irresponsible influences will intrude themselves lies in the persistence of the myth that political independence means cutting off the Island from all economic contacts with the United States. No nation, least of all a small one, lives in economic isolation from its neighbors or from the world. One great advantage of political independence is that it gives a nation freer choice in the establishment of its economic ties. In the case of Puerto Rico that point can best be made clear by an assurance from the United States that in the event the plebiscite favors independence we shall be prepared to enter into immediate and favorable commercial arrangements with the new republic.

Dewey's Goldstein

BY THIS time the political physiognomy of the three candidates for mayor of New York is clear. Were it not generally known that Jonah Goldstein, the Tammany hack running on the Republican and Liberal Party tickets, was chosen by Governor Dewey, his own speeches would provide ample evidence of his sponsorship. Who of those that heard the Dewey oratory in 1944 can fail to recognize in the Goldstein diatribes that corny district attorney manner, the puerile histrionics, the self-righteous moral tone, and above all, the Red-baiting? When Judge Goldstein declares that Communism "is an issue against anyone who accepts their support, plays ball with them and goes to bed with them," he is repeating almost verbatim the language of Dewey's scurrilous Boston speech against Roosevelt.

In one respect, however, Goldstein has out-Deweyed Dewey. While the governor gave lip-service to collective security and at the same time sought to placate the reactionary isolationists, Goldstein has frankly proclaimed an isolationism more extreme than that of the McCormicks and Hearsts. He has assailed every effort to link the New York election with state and national issues, including even an expression of sympathy for refugee Jews. He fears that the mere mention of such matters might cause voters to suspect that Dewey is running Goldstein so that the Republicans can run Congress in 1946 and the country in 1948—naturally, with Dewey as boss.

As for that pleasant gentleman, Newbold Morris, by announcing that he would ignore Goldstein and direct his fire at O'Dwyer, he has revealed the nature of the deal consummated by the synthetic No Deal Party whose candidate he is.

By contrast the Democratic and American Labor nominee, Brig. Gen. William O'Dwyer, stands out as the representative of the Roosevelt tradition behind whom the great majority of the labor and progressive movements are united. O'Dwyer has insisted that the problems of America's largest city cannot be isolated from the problems of the state, the nation and the world. His campaign has not been free from serious mistakes, particularly his recent lapse into Red-baiting, but on the whole it has been on a level that is both high and progressive. A big vote for O'Dwyer and his running mates on the American Labor Party line will strengthen the force that in city, state and nation can provide leadership and power in the battle for democracy. No less important is the election of a fighting team in the City Council: the Communists, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., and Peter V. Cacchione, the Laborites, Michael J. Quill, Eugene P. Connolly and the other ALP candidates.

At NM's press time, the French election returns were far from complete. Next week NM will publish an analysis of the elections and their significance.

Rank and File

NEW YORK dock workers, after an eighteen-day strike, have achieved two important, if partial gains. They have forced the shipowners to reopen negotiations for a new contract with their union, the International Longshoremen's Association-AFL, based on the strike demands; and they have developed a powerful rank and file movement to win control of their union. Theirs was an insurgent strike against an unsatisfactory contract negotiated by Joseph Ryan, life-time president of the ILA. The longshoremen's economic demands centered around the reduction

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of slingloads and the modification of the shape-up. Oversize slingloads endanger the lives of the dockers, and the shape-up system forces them to appear at the docks on their own time without assurance of work or a fair and orderly rotation of jobs.

The strike was directed as much against the "racketeering and the dictatorship" of Ryan as against the shipowners. It was supported by the CIO maritime unions and by other unions, AFL, CIO and unaffiliated. The ILA is one of the worst examples of undemocratic AFL unions in which the bureaucratic leadership collaborates with the employers against the interests of the workers. The long-smouldering resentment of the rank and file, kept in check by gangster terrorism, finally flared up when Ryan signed a contract with the shipowners without so much as consulting the membership. During the course of the strike the rank and file movement developed its own organization, leadership and program that holds a promise of transforming the ILA into a cleansed and democratic trade union. It was the Rank and File Committee that called off the strike in order to preserve unity among the members and direct the fight within the ILA against the self-perpetuating leadership. That fight will go on despite the desertion of two of the strike leaders, William E. Warren and Salvatore Barone.

Padlocking the Air

NEWS flashes and the news commentators on the American radio are as much a national habit as eggs for breakfast. It becomes a matter of great national concern, consequently, when the Rankin-Wood un-American committee raises a bludgeon over the heads of those few commentators who have consistently reflected the truth of world events and those most concerned with promoting the general welfare. The committee says blandly that it is "engaged in determining just what is un-American," by way of explaining why it has subpeonaed the scripts of Cecil Brown, Sidney Walton, Johannes Steel, William S. Gailmor, J. Raymond Walsh, Gram Swing and Hans Jacob. True, they say they will examine other scripts, but they don't name the names of Fulton Lewis, Jr., or H. V. Kaltenborn, or Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen. When you are trying to determine what is "un-American," you publicly pillory only the progressives, the spokesmen of the liberals, the consistent anti-fascists,

Eisenhower and German Anti-Fascists

IN HIS monthly report to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Eisenhower declared that (a) there are too many Communists occupying posts in Berlin; (b) that in an election the Communists would not have a majority; (c) that the bloc of four anti-fascist democratic parties is undemocratic; (d) that he would discourage such a bloc in the American zone. Stripped of all its diplomatic niceties, Eisenhower's report is a direct criticism of the policy pursued by the Soviet Union in her occupation zone. And the tragedy of it is that Eisenhower lends his name to the broader reactionary policies pursued on a world scale by Secretary of State Byrnes. The general, under the blandishments of the ineffable Robert Murphy, is quickly becoming enmeshed in all the dirty business of resurrecting German imperialism.

All this was, of course, to be expected. When the State Department tries everywhere to divide the democratic anti-fascist camp, when it attempts to create Bulgarian, Hungarian, Rumanian and Chinese anti-Soviet fronts, how could its attitude toward Germany be different? If one plays with the idea of using Germany against the USSR, then logic dictates that the Germans must be kept from liberating themselves from their prejudices and from all the effects of the Nazis' anti-Russian propaganda. One may arrest Nazis and bring them to trial, but at the same time one must make certain that the Germans remain in such a state of mind that they can be used by the international cartellists for new adventures.

General Eisenhower's report is a call to the German Social Democrats not to unite with the Communists. It is a call to the middle class not to unite with the workers. No matter how carefully the report is worded, it can only be understood as advising the Germans to return to the conditions prevailing before Hitler and to fight each other in the name of "true democracy." This is exactly the state of affairs that made possible Hitler's rise to power, with all its terrible consequences.

If today—amid the confusion and demoralization of millions of Germans tainted in different degrees with Nazi doctrine—the democratic bloc of the four German parties should be broken and engage in a protracted internal struggle, the German imperialists could score their first decisive victory after Hitler's defeat. To try to split this bloc or to discourage its development is, from the point of view of reorganizing the whole political life of Germany, more dangerous than all the things General Patton did in Bavaria.

The fact that the Russians, soon after the occupation of Berlin permitted the organization of these four parties proves that they understand what measures must be taken to promote a democratic and anti-fascist Germany. They have given the German democrats and anti-fascists from all classes a chance to show what they can do, to prove what they have learned from defeat. The result is that denazification and the development of the democratic process has made much greater progress in the Russian-occupied zone than in any other. And it is not surprising that the Communists hold many posts in Berlin, for it is in their ranks that the most reliable people can be found for the job of cleansing the country.

Without the unification of the German working class led by the Communists and Social Democrats, without the closest alliance of the working class and the middle and peasant classes, there will never be a peaceful, democratic Germany. This is the cardinal lesson to be learned from German history. Those who want a Germany that will no longer commit crimes against other nations and peoples will press for unity of the anti-fascists and democrats. Those who want to fish in Germany's bloody waters and turn her back to chaos and aggression will work against the formation of a democratic alliance and advise Eisenhower accordingly.

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the CIO—these are the enemy to the un-American committee. And their real aim needs no formal exposition: it is simply to shut up every liberal commentator possible and to terrify that all-too-necessary adjunct of broadcasting, the sponsor. There have already been two casualties to these tactics, Gailmor and Jacob.

It is no accident that these subpeonaes are issued on the heels of what was supposed to be a revealing expose of the nefarious aims of the Communist Party in the continuation of the questioning of CP leaders. The attempt to smear the Communist Party, which began with the summoning of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., and others, and which continued with the questioning of William Z. Foster at the moment of the attack on radio commentators, is part of the dreadfully familiar pattern. Show America that the Communists are a present threat to American and world stability and you will have an easier time shutting off other progressive opinion.

Fortunately for the USA this first round of the assault on the primary liberty of free speech for honest patriots went to the Communists, who named the smear for what it was, a concerted attack on American-Soviet relations, on freedom of religion, on the fight against discrimination, on the democratic rights of trade unions. It was Foster who exposed Rankin.

But this is only the first round, and unless an aroused public realizes that the Dies Committee formula is always and inevitably a Hitler formula, the poison of the "dangerous thoughts" philosophy may easily make gains. It is to the interest of all Americans that the subversive activities of the Rankin committee be immediately suspended. And while our readers have out their pens they might remember that broadcasting companies are also sensitive to mail.

Tax the Poor

THE Senate Finance Committee, after first drawing up tax proposals that were a slight improvement over the help-the-rich bill railroaded through the House, finally decided to combine the worst features of the House measure and the Treasury program. The big corporations are to be given a $2,555,000,000 bonanza, as the Treasury recommended, through abolition of the excess profits tax at the end of this year. By cutting individual income taxes in a way that would give most of the benefit to the lower brackets, the Senate committee seemed to be on the way to compensating partly for this generosity to the corporations. But then it decided to add a five-percent across-the-board reduction for all taxpayers. This means that a maried man with two children, whose net income is $2,500 a year, will have an additional five dollars knocked off his tax bill, but a man in the same category with a $50,000-a-year income will have his tax reduced by an additional $1,269, making his total saving nearly twice what it would be under the Treasury plan. The higher the income, the bigger the benefits both absolutely and relatively.

The Senate Finance Committee paid no attention to most of the eight-point program presented to it last week by the CIO and the National Lawyers Guild in behalf of sixteen organizations, including the Federated Council of Churches in America, the National Catholic Welfare Council, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Consumers Union, the National Women's Trade Union League, and the League of Women Shoppers. This program would go beyond the Treasury proposals in providing the bulk of individual income tax relief for families earning less than $5,000 a year; would retain the excess profits tax till Jan. 1, 1947; and would grant special tax relief to veterans and small business.

Both the House-approved bill and the Senate committee proposals would strengthen the monopolies and the rich and encourage big business sabotage of reconversion. This kind of tax cutting is part of reaction's larger plan for taking over America lock, stock and barrel. The people's tax program of the sixteen organizations is the weapon with which to fight it.

Here and There

● The New York *Daily News*' venture into the outright fascist technique of inciting anti-Semitism produced an immediate call by Dr. Stephen S. Wise for a boycott of the sheet; the boycott was promptly endorsed by the Trade Union Committee for Jewish unity; one of the *Daily News* advertisers in the sheet withdrew his advertising; the B'nai Brith demanded that the paper retract its anti-Semitic lies; and returned veterans threw a picket line round the *Daily News* offices. As a result, John O'Donnell, author of the *News*' anti-Semitic tidbit, wrote a column admitting that all his so-called facts were false, though not retracting their anti-Semitic implications.

● Life's little ironies! After using the free speech issue against the emerging East European democracies our top government circles apparently found free speech embarrassing. At a presidential command performance of Robert Sherwood's new play *The Rugged Path*, attended by Cabinet members and other government figures, one of the strongest lines in the play, the statement that "American newspaper policy is controlled by the National Association of Manufacturers," was omitted.

● Hoover made his grief for Germany and Japan public at a Pennsylvania college anniversary celebration. He pleaded against their de-industrialization (which would make them useless as spearheads against the Soviet Union). Hoover also found the "cult of the common man" distasteful and called for the training of the "uncommon man." The Nazis had another word for it—"elite."

● President Truman's call for the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine, which the British Labor government has rejected, should be matched with a proposal to admit another 100,000 to America.

● Seceding from civilization, a mob sought to have the state of Florida rejoin the Rankin-Bilbo belt of white barbarism with the lynching of the Negro youth, Jesse J. Payne, held on the usual rape charge. Fight the lynchers by aiding the International Labor Defense, which has taken up the case. It has offered $500 for information leading to the arrest of the lynchers. But a powerful campaign will be necessary to move reluctant Florida authorities into any action.

● The House Appropriations Committee has approved the extension, for four months, of child nurseries established under the Lanham act to aid working mothers in congested areas. This is a mere stopgap. Parent-Teacher and other groups should use it to campaign for and win the permanent nursery system whose need became glaringly evident during the war.

●

Students in the film department of the City College of New York each year make a film as a part of the course. This year the business department of the college suggested that they make a film on "selling"; the art department wanted studies of nudes, but the students themselves wanted to do a film on full employment.

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READERS' FORUM

N. Y. and Soviet Divorce

To New Masses: I was amused to read in your October 9 issue in the article "Soviet Marriage and Divorce" the following passage: "Divorce laws were particularly **humiliating . . . (in czarist Russia) . . .** one of the conditions for divorce was proof (which had to be substantiated by witnesses) that adultery had been committed by one of the parties. . . ."

The writer of that article, I am sure, would be interested to know that the law of the great state of New York today is still that humiliating; that, in fact, there is only one ground for divorce—adultery—and that proof has to be "substantiated by witnesses that adultery has been committed by one of the parties."

It might also be of interest to your readers to know that if the proof is that both parties committed adultery, the marriage will not be dissolved.

New York. Joseph Spencer.

Some Praise and Criticism

To New Masses: May I say again that to me among the most interesting types of material you publish are the specific factual accounts of social processes in the Soviet Union like Beloussova's account of "Soviet Marriage and Divorce" (New Masses, October 23).

I must also say regretfully that for me your editorial on "Behind the London Conference," has an equivalent defect of presenting conclusions without an analysis of facts, as a previous article on the Balkan situation.

Washington. Marcus I. Goldman.

Labor and Foreign Policy

To New Masses: How about an article or series on labor and foreign policies? What resolutions are unions passing on this question, and what discussions are taking place in the locals? What is the attitude of union leaders? I suspect that a survey would show that labor is not conscious of the importance of a progressive foreign policy as a vital objective in the fight for full employment.

Actually the objectives of the monopolists and the reactionaries, domestically and abroad, are part of a single program, one that would bring disaster to labor and to the whole American people. It is clear that in America they are striving for conditions of low wages and high prices, unemployment, insecurity and division among the workers. Callous to the results this would have not only in misery and lowered standard of living, but also in the bringing on of a disastrous crisis, they seek higher profits with restricted production.

Would not the foreign policy of the reactionaries have the same consequences? In opposing the upsurge of democracy in Asia and Europe, they are seeking to build a system of reactionary puppet regimes subservient to American capital. Among other things, such regimes could be expected, in gratitude, to grant very profitable contracts to a few favored monopolists. Abroad as well as at home, they hope for high monopoly profits in a limited market rather than the development of broad markets based on a rising world standard of living. Labor and the people as a whole have a vital economic stake in the development of a progressive foreign policy. The article suggested would help develop a realization that the fight against reactionary domestic and foreign policies are one and the same fight.

Chicago, Ill. Gordon Place.

No Compulsory Training

To New Masses: Been a constant reader of New Masses for eight years. I am not at all concerned if I get it any more. In all the discussions over the recent convention, have you men repudiated your stand concerning compulsory military service? I would agree to it if it were led by the workers, but never in a capitalist state has it been used for anything but a boot—an additional boot, if you please—on poor folks' necks. Never in a capitalist state has it led to anything except war and bloodshed and additional suffering to the masses of people.

If the Communist Party line is so flexible as to include in America such an un-American thing it will in the near future necessitate another "convention" to abolish "militarism" which any one can see, after San Francisco, would be used for strike-breaking only, or for compelling colonial peoples to work for cartels or monopolists of the world imperialist powers.

New Yorkers!

VOTE ROW C

ALP

I know the Communists are not like the Norman Thomas Socialists—I know of the Communists' militant spirit—but a military caste here in America would mean another evil for the Communist Party to fight, and there is plenty to fight now with entrenched wealth so securely in the saddle. Wouldn't it be swell for them to have a nice group of tough young Americans to keep them in their saddle!

Let us go all out for Negro rights—Jewish rights—full employment—higher social security benefits—a real Bill of Rights for veterans and the people. And especially socialism. And when we attain this program, if the rest of the world hasn't already brought about disarmament and if it looks like we need an army, let's have one; but as it is now, I plainly say "to hell with 'em." I am a disabled soldier from World War I and I do not believe in being a sucker for any more anti-American bunk.

Minneapolis, Minn. C. L.

Lines from a Hospital

To New Masses: One night very late, on the hospital grounds of a small island in the South Pacific, I had a long talk with a very intelligent, sensitive Negro youth. He touched me by what he said. I was so moved that I couldn't sleep; I got up and wrote these lines.

Soldiers. Soldiers,
Hear my plea;
For I too am a soldier of democracy.

I am asked to fight
To set the world right.

I WANT TO FIGHT!

Maybe I'll die;
WILL I DIE FOR A LIE?

Hollywood, Cal. Paul Marion.

Art in Washington Square

To New Masses: I am writing you in reference to the Washington Square Outdoor Art Show. It is generally taken for granted that the work exhibited is mediocre, a situation which could be remedied by better artists exhibiting. It is my firm belief that this could be achieved with proper publicity. Otherwise this unique cultural activity will languish and die for want of strong nourishment. Artists after creating their *chefs d'ouvres* should present them before the greatest number of people, for their own, the people's, and the world's benefit.

The ivory tower principle died long, long ago; and if artists are not forerunners of new impulses for richer living, which people are? Life is naturally what one makes of it anywhere and its dynamics can be brought forth on Washington Square.

New York. Nicholas Mocharniuk.

P.S. I am writing as an artist and one of the exhibitors who believes that this event can become a very influential force for America's art world and life in general.

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They Saw Stalin

(*Continued from page 16*)

through the hard war years and had deprived themselves—that they needed a lot. That was obvious. The children looked well fed, but the adults showed the pinch of war—and they needed clothes and shoes."

But I hadn't seen any of this in the press. All I had seen was Mr. Colmer's demand, in the name of the seven, that Russia be denied the $6,000,000,000 loan she seeks, until she permitted what corresponded to our freedom of the press or "free and open entry and travel from point to point by American technicians and members of the press."

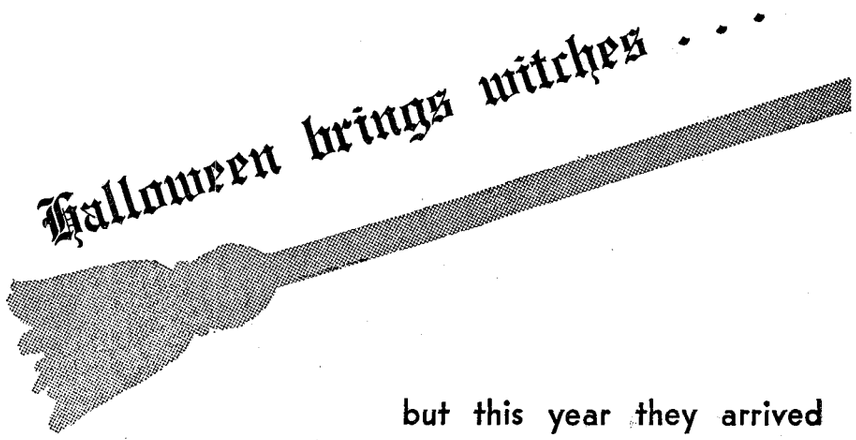
Even my informant, who said he had "no opinion" on whether Russia should get $6,000,000,000, thought that "they should allow some correspondents in Poland."

THE same day, the American Slav Congress introduced a statement before the House Appropriations Committee in support of President Truman's request for an additional appropriation of $550,000,000 for UNRRA and in doing so scored Rep. Clarence Brown (R., Ohio) for asking that UNRRA funds go only to countries which permit freedom of the press as we know it. This would mean "that we would use food and clothing as a political weapon, as a club over the heads of our Allies who happen to have a different concept of what constitutes a free press," said Zlatko Balokovic, in the statement submitted by George Pirinsky, executive secretary of the American Slav Congress.

Brown is a newspaper publisher, but not all the reactionaries who are getting up and shouting about freedom of the press are publishers. Meanwhile the New York *Times*' Gladwin Hill is sending cables from Poland.

Asked if he did not think the use of loans to Russia as a club to enforce political demands of this government was dangerous, and if he did not think it contributed to an atmosphere which implied preparation for war against the USSR, my anonymous Congressman said he had no idea what I was talking about, that he had heard nothing about designs for war. He hadn't read our press for two months, he explained apologetically.

"My own idea is that the American people have had enough of war. We want cooperation and peaceful relations and an end of war. There must never be another war," he said.



but this year they arrived early and are busily riding their congressional broomsticks in a Rankin committee formation. Unfortunately this formation will not break up at midnight on All Saints' Eve. It will have to be disbanded through demands and pressure on the part of those people who realize its true purpose.

Those of you who regularly read or subscribe to NM know the danger this committee presents to American democracy. Tell others, or better still, see that they find out for themselves through a subscription to this magazine. For every two subs you send in, your choice of any book listed below, free. Use the coupon for your broomstick and help drive out the witches.

NEW MASSES
104 East Ninth Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Enclosed please find $10 for two one-year subscriptions. Of the following choice of books, Oboler Omnibus, by Arch Oboler; Sowing the Wind, by Martha Dodd; African Journey, by Eslanda Goode Robeson; The Pattern of Soviet Power, by Edgar Snow; Dragon Harvest, by Upton Sinclair; A Street in Bronzeville, by Gwendolyn Brooks; Rickshaw Boy, by Lau Shaw, I should like the book listed below:

Book title .....

Book to:	Sub to:	Sub to:
Name	Name	Name .....
Address	Address	Address .....
City	City	City .....
Zone No.	Zone No.	Zone No. .....
State	State	State .....

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SINCLAIR LEWIS ON MARRIAGE

"Cass Timberlane," reviewed by Dorothy Brewster

SINCLAIR LEWIS has gone back to his home state, Minnesota, to live, in the "radiant, sea-fronting, hillside city of Duluth." The scene of his nineteenth novel is an imaginary city in Minnesota—Grand Republic, not quite so large as Duluth.* Guesses as to the identity of some of the characters will be wrong, he assures us, but "even the writer will be astonished to learn how exactly he has drawn some judge or doctor or banker or housewife of whom he has never heard, or regretful to discover how poisonously he is supposed to have described people of whom he is particularly fond." This frank tribute to his own gift of convincing characterization is well deserved. Sinclair Lewis has always been adept at the essential part of the novelist's job—verisimilitude.

Cass Timberlane is a novel of husbands and wives, in the early 1940's, and, as often intimated, all down through the ages. The leading pair are Judge Cass Timberlane, forty-one years old, risking matrimony again after a disastrous first attempt that ended in divorce. His second wife is twenty-four-year-old Jinny Marshland. At the end he and Jinny are still married, though there have been troubles and Jinny has had her fling with his best friend, Bradd Criley, a charm-peddler finally exposed as a heel. As a backdrop, setting off the story of the judge and Jinny, are fifteen other marriages among Grand Republic citizens, "assemblages of husbands and wives," scattered through the book as interludes and told with the economy of *The Spoon River Anthology*. Two or three of them are happy marriages. Quite a few recall the case histories we used to read in psychoanalytic volumes with fascinated surprise in the twenties. I think—I have not gone over them all to verify this—most of the marriages are among members of the great American middle class.

Judge Timberlane is an honest judge and a friendly soul. He and his friends are convinced that Grand Republic is becoming a city for all the people, for decency and neighborliness, "not for ecclesiastical display and monarchial power and the chatter of tamed journalists and professors drinking coffee and eating newspapers in cafes." But the judge is quite aware of its shortcomings in democracy. "In The Friendly City as we call it, we don't shoot Jews and Catholics and Socialists and saints. We just don't go calling on them." (This is the author speaking.) The judge thinks he is left-wing: "He innocently considered himself, even after election day, democratically one with the farmer, the section-hand, the pants-presser, yet he had always been so occupied with members of the Federal Club and the dwellers on Ottawa Heights that he was as detached from his constituents as any country squire."

It has been suggested that Jinny is the daughter of Carol Kennicott of Main Street. If so, she has lost Carol's urge to reform the community but has found nothing else to do—at least after her marriage. She was earning her living as a draftsman and designer for the Fliegend Fancy Box and Pasteboard Toy Manufacturing Co. when she appeared as a witness in court and captured the love of Judge Timberlane. She might have made a good mother, but she lost her baby and emerged from this shattering experience, and from her affair with Bradd, a semi-invalid. Just what her future as the judge's wife will be is for the reader to guess. The judge's niece, off to camp as a member of the WAC, remarks that there are still "ten million dolls like Aunt Jinny, that haven't got guts enough to hold down a job, or enough patience to study, and they think that modernity for women is simply being free to skip around with any men they like and get all the jewelry and embroidered linens." The judge pleads in defense that if Jinny ever had to, she would be as good a guerrilla fighter as any of the French women his niece is admiring. Mr. Lewis has made Jinny attractive at times, though to my mind Leora in *Arrowsmith* still holds first place among his women. But she too often reminds me, with her little cat and her little talisman and her kittenish ways, of the child-wife, Dora Copperfield. The judge had heard from his sister, but had never really understood, that Jinny, with little occupation beyond asking the housekeeper "what she wanted her to want," would become idle, empty and bored. Yet he knew that in our civilization "if nine-tenths of the people suffered from occasional hunger and constant insecurity, the rest of the community, whom the nine-tenths labored to keep in contentment, suffered from boredom and futility."

THE judge's friends belong to that small tenth, and their pursuits, their conversation, their amusements, are presented with Mr. Lewis' familiar gusto and gift for mimicry. At the summer colony on the lake, called Mushrat City, they keep very busy. "The true American is active even in his inactivities. The Mushrat City colonists did not lie indolent watching the slow tides of the water rise and merge with the slow-revolving sky till heaven and earth were all one sun-hued dream. No, they swam, they dove, they sailed, they fished for bass, they drove into town for the movies, they played bridge, they cooked steak and fish at outdoor grills, they danced to the radio, they drank considerably and made love cautiously." Fortunately Mr. Lewis himself has been

Prize Contest

Deadline of the Art Young Memorial Award Short Story Contest is November 15. Stories are to be not longer than 3,500 words and are to be typed, double-spaced, on one side of the paper. Judges include Whit Burnett, editor of "Story Magazine," Leane Zugsmith and Isidor Schneider. Prize is $100.

* CASS TIMBERLANE, *by Sinclair Lewis. Random House. $2.75.*

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indolent and contemplative enough to capture much of the beauty of his Minnesota, and even a bit of the magic of the New York which he damns for the most part, when the story brings his provincials to the metropolis.

From time to time, in a casual way, Mr. Lewis relates his husbands-wives theme to the large issues of civilization, in such reflections as these, which pass through the judge's mind: "if the world of the twentieth century cannot succeed in this one thing, married love, then it has committed suicide, all but the last moan, and whether Germany and France can live as neighbors is insignificant compared to whether Johann and Maria or Jean and Marie can live as lovers." Or, "you can't heal the problems of any one marriage until you heal the problems of an entire civilization founded upon suspicion and superstition."

A pretty bleak outlook, that, for marital peace in our time. But one remembers with some relief that civilization isn't confined to the upper tenth of the citizens of the Grand Republics of the United States.

Facts on Japan

DILEMMA IN JAPAN, *by Andrew Roth. Little, Brown. $2.50.*

THE only way to begin a review of this book is to say that it is the only really good summary of the policies of the Japanese and American governing groups, and the post-surrender jobs facing the American and Japanese peoples, that has yet appeared in this country. It is short on the loose mysticism so often encountered in writing on the Orient and long on facts and concrete analysis. It does not speak of vague movements, trends and traditions, but of real organizations and living persons, their connection with the past and their usefulness for the future. Roth's feet are so firmly planted in reality that, writing early this year, he experienced no difficulty at all in predicting exactly what a "strange" course events would take after the war ended, and how the Japanese oligarchy would utilize this course. At the same time his investigations, unlike those recorded in other recent books, emphasized the democratic and labor history of Japan herself and clearly identified—with documentation and naming names—the forces within the country that have always opposed military-fascism. The spotlight is also applied to pretended opponents who really helped draw Japan's chariot of conquest, such as the Shidehara "moderates" and the Suzuki-Kagawa labor misleaders; and the whole is an indispensable guide to where the seeds of Japanese fascism lie, where its gravediggers can be found, and how the occupation could be made to destroy the oligarchs and help the Japanese and other peoples. We must not delude ourselves that such a guidebook will have a ready market among occupation policy makers, but that is all the more reason why it should be read by ordinary citizens.

If he had been a well-known radio commentator or newspaper columnist, Roth would by now have been ballyhooed into the company of major seers and prophets. If his findings had not been so damning to the Anglo-American policy for Japan which was being planned when he wrote his book and has not been appreciably modified since, he would probably not have appeared among the defendants in the ill-starred "Case of the Six." Those of us who are neither mystics nor policemen will recognize simply that Roth has held up an undistorted mirror to the facts and motion of history and governed his own analysis by these criteria. Such a picture of the situation was badly needed. It is very seldom that American scholarship provides it. Roth has given it.

Dilemma in Japan is remarkable for its clear presentation of the inter-relations of the Emperor, military machine, monopoly trust (Zaibatsu), landlords and bureaucracy. For the present period, his treatment of the Zaibatsu and its tame "moderate" politicians is absolutely essential reading. Exploding the legend of "peaceful" super-industrialists being balked in their desire to live peacefully with the rest of the world by the "wicked" industrialists, Roth shows that just as an impoverished peasantry plus a great army spelled a policy of foreign conquest, so the Zaibatsu enterprises, building munitions and directing overseas trade to provide stockpiles for the war machine served as the means and conscious tools of conquest. It was not under the military-fascist rule but under the "liberal" Zaibatsu that the peasant and worker's movements, which wanted food and goods instead of military adventures, were ruthlessly smashed. The Zaibatsu built the Japanese cannon, and their only differences with the army concerned the time when it should be shot off. Unless there is land reform, nationalization of industries, and freedom for the people's movement, a new cannon will be built and loaded. Since there is obviously no point in any school of American thought whatsoever helping to load a gun against this country, it follows that some have hopes of pointing it elsewhere.

Good as the book is, there is one important omission which should certainly be filled if it is reprinted—as it should be, many times. That is a detailed historical analysis of the links between American and Japanese business. Roth remarks that Japan's big businessmen will seek early reconciliation with American and British big business, and the startling offer of the Zaibatsu to pay American bondholders all the wartime back dividends on their stocks in the country's industrial enterprises (give American coupon clippers war profits from the killing of American boys).

We may laugh at this, but the thing has roots, roots which must be pulled up. It is a matter of record that there was American, British and French capital in Japan's war machine and that the blood-trade after Japan's attack on China and before Pearl Harbor was based on mutually profitable arrangements. It touched even the business of the free and disembodied word. We have heard of a famous Tokyo correspondent, later to become a high executive of a great press association, who put his savings into Japanese Imperial bonds and slanted subsequent coverage of Far East news to keep those bonds high. We know also that during the Sino-Japanese war, certain Tokyo papers bought this press service on understanding that their queries would be passed on, under a New York dateline, to the service's correspondent in Free China who would thus be directed to report on those features of the Chinese war effort of most interest to the customer who was always right.

These are sensational overtones of a historical situation which is very important, to say the least, to the public. The *Daily News* and its ilk can establish false connections to link the New York dock strike with the British dock strike, Moscow and God knows what else. Why shouldn't the American people have at least as good an account of real connections between American, British, and Japanese monopoly capital as it has lately been getting of German-American monopoly links? As far as he goes, Roth shows conclusively that the "mysterious Orient" is no more mysterious than the "rational" West. He could go even further and deeper.

Meanwhile, buy *Dilemma in Japan*, study it, and do something about it. Few things are more important today.

CLIFTON GALE.

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Greek poster of ELAS guerrilla, photograph by Hellenic Dept. of Information, Cairo.

The Users

TUCKER'S PEOPLE, *by Ira Wolfert. Fischer. $1.49.*

WHEN *Tucker's People* first appeared the United States was already at war. Because it was a war against foreign fascism we were inclined to forget how often it showed itself in our own country, in phenomena we were used to as part of the "American scene." We have been reminded soon enough. The reflective insight of Wolfert, then considered pessimism by some, becomes doubly valuable today, not for its timeliness alone, but for its truth.

Wolfert says that his story has no real ending. An almost instinctive appraisal of his characters is implied here. Since they are not tragic, nothing can be concluded from their separate fates. Death is merely the interruption of a career. All swim through their world like rapacious or victim fish, part of the sunless sea which we study. We observe them alternately as individuals and as aspects, and so, despite their sharp factuality, they come to resemble figures in an allegory.

The book opens with a passage dialectical both for its style and sense of history: "Which shall be the user and which shall be used? Is the world a cloth that may be cut to fit its people? Or, are people cloth that must be cut to fit the world?

"So this story is of people cutting the world to measure where they can and cutting themselves to measure where they have to, and of the two, world and people, rolling through the universe embraced in battle and altered by battle.

"What was the beginning of this? Where is the end, since altered people alter their children, and altered children must likewise subdue themselves to this way of life? They must join the battle and cut the world and be cut by it. Then the children are further altered by the battle and must alter further, in their turn, their own children."

The year of the cutting of Tucker's people is 1930. Their field of battle is the numbers business in Harlem, which differs from other forms of capitalist enterprise only because of its technical illegality and the specific measures its monopolists must take to preserve themselves. The same general laws operate as in banks and cartels. The power of money to poison human relationships works perhaps a little more directly. As in big business violence has become a last resort, yet it waits in the background almost impatiently. "Opportunity to commit a crime is not a coincidence for the opportunity does not seem an opportunity to the man who is not looking for it. Nor is the necessity to commit a crime a coincidence. They, the opportunity and necessity, are a climax. They are prepared for and they happen."

Tucker began his career as a scab in New Jersey. That time he killed a striker in a frenzy, because he was wild for a job. After that he killed with efficient concentration. In the end he had no taste for killing because he was not a killer but a businessman. He was a good husband and a quite conservative father, even if he had blown up two men with dynamite.

If Leo Minch, whose bank was taken over by the combination, felt guilty at first about the numbers business, he had also felt useless in the butter and egg, real estate and garage business. He too was a good husband, and he flushed with pleasure at the praise of the local banker. He liked to make speeches to his clients. "Honesty is the best policy," he would say. He was ripened for doom by his warm heart.

Wheelock, Tucker's lawyer, was a good son. But he came from a small town in timber country which the lumber people had finished exploiting. Its people "had been made to feel alone by

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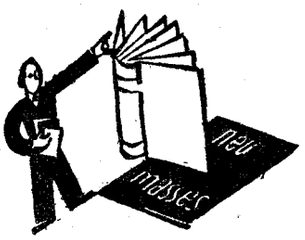

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what business had done to them. They did not join each other to fight business. They abandoned themselves to their loneliness and fought each other instead." So the pattern was set for Wheelock to betray and corrupt whatever he touched.

Joe Minch, Tucker's right-hand man, wanted to be a good brother. But Joe "could not decide whether he had forced Leo into the combination to make his brother wealthy or to strip his brother of power over him." He could only decide to hang himself when things went wrong and Tucker left him holding the bag.

Bauer, the bookkeeper, wanted to be honest and respectable and, above all, secure. Not being able to create security for himself, he clung to his wife and to Leo, hating them for his dependence. When they failed him he started to crave death. He began to look for a leader, someone with the power to kill. When he found the punk Wally, whose boss, Ficco, was after Tucker's business, he turned Leo over to him. And he got the matter of his own death straightened out. In Bauer the will to self-destruction had come to a head. But all Tucker's people were infected with it. They had become like the German people.

Fear operates in Bauer to convert every natural creative striving, every bit of inventiveness and love, into terrible parodies of themselves. Tucker, whose power and confidence enable him to have at least a stable family life, is interlocked with Bauer's fear. He is a link in the chain reaction which, when it reaches Bauer, explodes and destroys and will go on destroying other combines and other lives. Neither Bauer nor Tucker can exist without the other. Though no more than one glance ever passes between them, their bonds are stronger than love.

Wolfert's psychology merges with his social understanding. The drive towards death is for him not only the expression of an isolated hostile individual, but a phenomenon common within a class of society subjected to economic and other pressures which arouse hostility and generate insecurity. The lower middle class provided the mass base for German fascism. Most of Wolfert's characters stem from this class. (Tucker was a declassed worker to begin with.) What they become is certainly related to that circumstance as much as to the particular animal creatures they once were and are now.

Comparing Wolfert with Hemingway, one could say that his perceptions have more body to them. If he is less an artist, it is because his characters are not rich enough to tell by their actions or speech what Wolfert knows about them. They cannot do or say half of what they mean. And so Wolfert is forced to reflect upon them from the outside. What cannot be expressed in a scene is dealt with in a lyrical analysis. But the element which Wolfert has added is primary to its integration. That is the next step.

CHARLES HUMBOLDT.

Lovely Land

AMERICAN CHILD, *a Sonnet Sequence by Paul Engle. Random House. $2.*
NIGHT IS ENDED, *Thoughts in Lyric, by J. S. Wallace. George McLeod, Ltd., Toronto. $1.*

THE Iowan Paul Engle's *American Child* is his seventh volume of poetry; *Night Is Ended* is the Canadian J. S. Wallace's first. Both books are full of love for the American land and for the democracy that built it. The Iowan, describing his daughter's adjustment to a strange, exciting, sometimes terrifying physical and social world, is conscious of her good fortune in being born in an opulent land "bordered by rivers of enormous flow." And the Canadian, too, knows the actual and potential richness of his country:

O lovely land whose fields unfold
In league on league their cloth of gold,
Where all who will may banquet there
In royal ease, on royal fare.

Most of *American Child* is straightforward, honest poetry that offers a pleasant evening's reading. A few sonnets, particularly the one in which the poet pictures his daughter listening to "Peter and the Wolf" while the music creates "enormous countries in the narrow ear" and that in which she learns the joy of sharing a toy with a playmate, are memorable for their controlled feeling and quiet competence. But though he is aware that fascism means the brutalization and corruption of childhood, Engle's concept of American freedom is oversweetened. That millions of American children are denied the benefits which he is able to lavish on his daughter is left unmentioned. "Lucky the living child born in a land . . . where fear is not around her like a fog." Can one apply these lines to a Negro child in the Deep South? or to a child in an industrial slum?

On the technical side, it should be mentioned that Engle's sense of rhythm is often faulty. In as tight and sophisti-

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cated a form as the sonnet, inexpert meters are especially jarring.

THE earliest poem in J. S. Wallace's, *Night Is Ended* is dated 1909, the latest 1942 when the author was fifty-two. Born to the middle class, Wallace gave up a profitable advertising business to devote his energies to the struggles of the Canadian working class. From 1940 to 1942 he was jailed for being a Communist. Wallace knows that "freedom is a hard-won thing."

The directness, simplicity and strength of this knowledge make one overlook his occasionally banal rhymes, archaic contractions and inversions. Often his lines have a sonorous ring, as when he describes the Russian working class moving "Through the iron gates of revolution/ Into the worldwide commonwealth"; and again in these lines from "Refugees": "The sun is scuttled and the stars are sold./ Draw close for comfort for the night grows cold." There is great tenderness and great love in Wallace's poems and the inevitable obverse—deep hatred for the assassins of democracy. Sometimes there is a compassion and a restraint that approach Wordsworth's Lucy poems, as in "Don't Weep For Doris":

Don't weep for Doris,
She doesn't know she's dead.
Born in a basement
With no sky overhead,
Living in a city slum
Till she was seven . . .
Doris in a country grave
Thinks she's in heaven.

Although *American Child* and *Night Is Ended* are uneven, they are worth reading, chiefly because the good in them is very good indeed.

SEYMOUR GREGORY.

Wizards and Riddles

THE WHITE DEER, *by James Thurber. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.*
STUART LITTLE, *by E. B. White. Harper. $2.*

THURBER is no mystery. He can be added up to a simple, correct sum or divided to a very fair denominator. The answer, by whatever method it is arrived at, proves a writer of high talents.

The White Deer is described in its blurb as "James Thurber's new world . . . a Thurber world of kings and princes and enchanted deer, of Thurber wizards and dwarfs, of perilous labors, of dark enchantments, of rhymed riddles, of false love and true. His story is a fairy tale for grownups." Largely, the blurb is accurate.

We can ignore the question of whether or not grownups need fairy tales. They certainly can get along without the variety seen daily in the capitalist press. As for the rest, it is a matter of taste and nostalgias. *The White Deer*, as a fairy story and fantasy, is good enough for anybody, though its characters are strictly stock and its plot exists purely by allowance of the reader. Its qualitative note is the marvelous Thurber style and treatment which is at par or better.

Enthusiasts of the genre will find in *The White Deer* a welcome touch of the Marxist *Land of Oz*. It is here, only fleetingly, however, that the stubbornly anti-capitalist L. Frank Baum and the laissez-faireish Mr. Thurber meet on common ground in their lampooning of the confusions of prophets and seers. The Thurber illustrations fall short for the reason that in a land of whimsy, whimsy itself is the norm, and cannot be kidded—at least in the Thurber technique.

THURBER's former collaborator, E. B. White, has also turned to fantasy. His is directed specifically at children. Fortunately, the average child is likely to experience in this story of a talking mouse, born to a normal woman in a Saroyanish American family, little of the dismay which it engenders in the adult. Unusually bright children may, however, find its incongruities a little too much to swallow.

White's style is awkwardly arch in some places and generally tedious.

KURT CONWAY.

Stories of the South

RED, WHITE AND BLACK, *by Murrell Edmunds. Ackerman. $2.*

MR. EDMUNDS' volume of twelve short stories of the South is depressing and disheartening. Five are concerned with maladjusted radicals (in one story the subject kills himself, in another he is a mental patient) who generally make futile, individualistic and unsuccessful attempts to implement ideology by action. Four of the tales deal with the miseries of insecure and "unsuccessful" people, and the remaining three tell of the seduction or rape of socially and economically dependent Negro women.

The language frequently is sophmoric, the technique somewhat stereotyped, and few of the characters stand the critical

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test of having fastened themselves upon one's memory. Least unsuccessful in these respects is the last (and longest) story, "Home to Our Mountains," which secures and retains interest up to a rather lame ending.

Significant, however, and distinctly on the credit side of the collection, is the fact that the Virginia-born author (formerly Assistant Commonwealth's Attorney), at present living in Louisiana, paints scathing pictures of the discrimination and oppression of the Negro people, and of the greed and cruelty implicit in our type of class society.

This speaks well for his courage and discernment. One hopes that in future works these virtues will be mixed with greater artistry and a more positive affirmation of the strength and power to be found in the will and aspirations of the common people. Were they as weary, confused and frightened as here depicted one would expect the neurotic and the suicide to be typical. But, of course, they are not. It is the Tojos and Himmlers who are killing themselves these days. The rest of us have so much living to do—together.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

Brief Reviews

DESERT EPISODE, *by George Greenfield. Macmillan. $1.75.*

THIS is less a novel than a series of descriptive and philosophical essays joined together by a loose thread of narrative. Insofar as the descriptive passages detail the maddening discomforts of the desert—sun, sand, and the ubiquitous flies, in ascending order of torment—they are sometimes very good; but in dealing with the preparation for and the tactical execution of the battle of El Alamein, they tend to be long-winded and technical. Such as there is of the plot poses the age-old question: what is bravery? Captain Harrison, a British Army Regular whose vivid imagination feeds his intense fears, deserted his men in a moment of panic at Dunkirk. Yet he had once earned the Military Cross in a single-handed encounter with a group of armed Arabs. Later, in the first phase of the El Alamein offensive, he is an inspiration to his badly battered company. In the end, refusing to expose a runner to the enemy's deadly fire, he is killed. Was his sacrifice an act of heroism or suicidal atonement?

The author leaves the question unanswered.

Had George Greenfield expounded less and dramatized more, he might have pared *Desert Episode* down to a fine novelette.

THE FATES ARE LAUGHING, *by W. P. Crozier. Harcourt Brace. $3.*

IT IS no news to anyone that the Caesars following Augustus were feared and hated by the people of Rome, nor that life in Rome was brutal and full of uncertainties for both citizens and slaves. When such a statement is unaccompanied by any analysis of why Rome lost her original republican virtues, or what causes led to the continuation of the tyranny under which she suffered, a great deal of very commendable scholarship can be lost on a novel such as this: a novel whose characters are lifeless, whose dialogue startlingly resembles informal orations, and whose situations are melodramatic. *The Fates Are Laughing* is a dull performance.

Worth Noting

LEO HUBERMAN, author of *We, The People, Man's Worldly Goods, The Labor Spy Racket* and other important books, has become the director of the interesting new publishing venture "Pamphlet Press," which is a division of the publishing firm of Reynal & Hitchcock. For the last three years Mr. Huberman was Educational Director of the National Maritime Union, whose pamphlets were considered a model.

ALBERT EINSTEIN is aiding the new campaign of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, which is now gathering a million signatures on petitions calling upon Congress to break relations with Franco Spain and in support of the Coffee Resolution in the House of Representatives for such a break.

THE Spingarn Medal, awarded annually to call the "attention of the American people to the existence of distinguished merit and achievement among American Negroes," was awarded this year to Paul Robeson. Marshall Field made the award for the NAACP at a dinner on October 18.

AN INTERESTING lecture course is being given Sunday nights, at the Metropolitan Music School (111 West 88th St., New York): "The Negro and His Song." The lecturers are Dr. Alain Locke and Miss Ann Dodge.

Why a Veteran's Bonus

(*Continued from page 12*)

service, month for month, should be applied after a veteran obtains a job, even if he has never before held the job. Here is a broader protection, which covers eighty percent of the returning servicemen. However, veterans are not aware of labor's stand on this issue.

Trade unionists have underestimated the antagonism of veterans toward organized labor, stemming from the distorted press reports of strikes during the war. Trade unionists are also underestimating the attraction of "super-seniority" to job-hungry veterans during reconversion. With the notable exception of United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers-CIO, labor has been too slow in accepting wholeheartedly and informing servicemen of the stand of their Executive Councils on veterans' seniority. "Super-seniority" is a weapon in the hands of monopolist reaction to further estrange servicemen and trade unionists. The monopolies seek to exploit the veterans' misplaced anti-labor bias, to devise more ways of creating schisms between veterans and labor, to weaken both and ultimately to destroy the trade union movement and democracy.

The bonus question can become labor's lever to upset the reactionaries and attract the veterans into paths of active collaboration. When labor wins the veterans, together they will determine the destiny of our country.

There is another aspect to the bonus question. The downward economic swing during reconversion may deepen and spiral into the depths of prolonged cyclical crisis. It can be partially averted by increasing mass purchasing power. Bonus expenditures at this time, paid for by taxing the corporations and individuals whose profits fattened during the war, can be one of the means of maintaining and augmenting the people's buying power. Increasing the home market in this manner will be the assurance that the sufferings of the working people and servicemen will be eased and erased.

In this light the bonus for veterans is more than a veterans' issue. The veterans' bonus coincides with the interests of the people of our country generally. Our capitalist production mechanism is such that a bonus for veterans is rendered an economic necessity. The white collar worker, the small businessman, the professional, as well as the industrial worker, have a vital stake in the passage of the UAW bonus proposal.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

TWO FILMS AND SOME THOUGHTS

By JOSEPH FOSTER

"THE House on 92nd Street" (Roxy) is supposed to be the definitive movie of the FBI's inner workings. Actually it's a slick spy melodrama, with less technical information than you used to be able to buy in the *Crime Doesn't Pay* series. For timeliness, a lot of mumbo-jumbo about the atomic bomb is thrown in, but in other respects it is the old number in which the Fed. or government agent gets the head of the enemy spy ring. Louis de Rochemont, who used to produce for *March of Time*, manages from time to time to get a documentary quality into the film. If he had concentrated on the workings of the FBI and had sloughed off the moth-eaten plot, *92nd Street* might have been a more absorbing picture. The average taxpayer always likes to see how the government is using his money.

THE British Four Continents Distributing Company, which is responsible for *Love on the Dole*, has moved another and somewhat slighter opus, *Battle For Music*, into the Little Carnegie. It deals with the struggle of the London Philharmonic Society to stay alive during the war, after its wealthy backers had all fled either the town or their cultural pretenses. It is an extremely low budget picture with wretched direction and acted mainly by the members of the orchestra. When they leave off acting to play, the results are delightful, for they play solid chunks of Beethoven, Elgar, Delius, Rachmaninoff, Wagner, Tchaikovsky, and others.

Aside from the generous portions of music, the film is interesting in its effort to make out a case for public support of musical organizations. The orchestra musters a committee to guard its interests. This committee argues that sporadic, voluntary contributions by the wealthy are no guarantee of stability. At the first crisis these patrons desert. Only popular support, if not government provision, is the answer.

THE publicity uproar that surrounds films like *The House on 92nd Street*, and the second-rate production quality of *Battle For Music* may, at first glance, have nothing to do with one another, but insofar as each is directly molded by the system of film distribution, they are directly related. The amount of money spent in making a film depends upon how much distribution the film will get. No distribution, no returns—no budget.

In this connection, it is interesting to read the government brief in its present fight with the major Hollywood studios to terminate their monopolistic distribution practices. Says the brief, "The government expects to show that in at least eighty percent of the towns where they control two or more theaters the producer-exhibitors have so adjusted runs, clearances and admission prices that all or a substantial majority of the total admission fees paid by the public in these towns to see films flow through their theaters." What does the government mean by "producer-exhibitors" and "their theaters"? Simply this: Twentieth Century-Fox distributes through National Theaters Corporation, a holding company that owns stock interest of from fifty-three to 100 percent in nine major subsidiaries which operate motion picture houses through more than a hundred lesser affiliated corporations. Loew's incorporated, which makes pictures and distributes them under the name of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, does so mostly through the Marcus Loew Booking agency, which acts as a booking agent for the Loew theaters. It is owned 100 percent by the parent company. The same distribution structures exist for Paramount, RKO, and Warners. It requires no legal brief to see what complete control the major producers have over what you and I shall or shall not see. I have heard many a moviegoer complain what a crying shame it was that such films as *Rainbow*, *Love on the Dole*, *They Came to a City*, *Girl No. 217* and the like, had to be holed up in such bandboxes as the Stanley and the World theaters, while the big showplaces were purveying plush-mounted trash to thousands of people. Now they know. At that, the residents of New York, Chicago, and other large centers are relatively lucky. Here and there in these cities, a small independent exhibitor pops up to show some of these first-rate foreign films, but in the smaller towns such films are never even heard of. Here the monopoly of the large studios is complete.

The movie companies protest that they are being maligned, that actually they only control directly about twenty-five percent of the movie houses. That may be true, as far as *direct* control is concerned, but *indirectly*, they practically control the works, as the government will point out. But even if they are statistically correct, it does not mitigate their dictatorial say in what the majority of people shall see. This can be proved, even in New York where relatively the largest number of independent producers exist. Let us take at random the Victoria (*True Glory*, *Fall of Berlin*) with a capacity of 705 seats, the World (*Love on the Dole*, *They Came to a City*, *Silver Fleet*, etc.) with a capacity of 600 seats, Little Carnegie (French and British first run showings) with a capacity of 382, Stanley (first run house for Russian films), capacity 621, and the Fifth Avenue Playhouse (first run French films), capacity 289—and compare their grand total of 2,597 with the more than double capacity of only one first-run Broadway house like the Capitol and you will get the picture. The Stanley, accommodating jammed

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houses for a week on an important film like *Rainbow*, had a total of customers that was less than the total of the Capitol for one good day.

Such a tight monopoly has its effect, of course, on both independent producers *and* exhibitors. Let the government once break this stranglehold, and independent producers will be encouraged to make films, the kind that a democratic public would devour. It also follows that more exhibitors, knowing that they would not have to buck the block booking system and other ills of producer-control distribution, would have the opportunity to show first rate independent films, domestic or foreign.

It is also safe to assume that if Warners and the others had to face a system of independent distribution they might not be so high-handed in their strike tactics, since a percentage of exhibitors might be in a position to be displeased and make such displeasure known.

Thus there is real opportunity in this little-publicized government suit to make the first substantial dent in this vicious control of a major idea-distribution medium. The plaintiff—the government, *we*—can be helped considerably by some expression of public opinion, such as letters to your newspaper and letters to Assistant Attorney-General Wendell Berge in Washington, D.C.

Notes on Music

THE novelty on the New York Philharmonic program of October 11 was the second piano concerto by Kabalevsky, performed by Nadia Reisenberg. Like many of the works of the younger Russian modernists, this too is marked by brilliance and energy. But neither in its structure nor in its themes is this a radically new composition. There are inescapable traces of Prokofieff and Shostakovich, especially in the ironic strain; but as a whole, the concerto is very much in the tradition of the older Russians. Wherein Kabalevsky differs from the others is in his self-conscious avoidance of a protracted melodic line. The concerto drives at a furious pace from the very first note; and if we omit a rather tedious and meaningless cadenza in the opening movement, it has forcefulness and spirit. For a pianist, it is a brilliant technical find—and Miss Reisenberg rose to the occasion. But I am not quite sure—even after this first hearing—that one of its fundamental shortcomings may not lie in this deliberate avoidance of feeling. Lively and bright as it is, the purely cerebral seems to predominate. I was surprised and pleased—but I can't honestly say I was moved.

The rest of the program further revealed Mr. Rodzinski's excellence as program maker, and his well known strength and weakness as interpreter. Where a composition lends itself to emphatic treatment—as was the case with *Til Eulenspiegel* and Schelling's *A Victory Ball*—Mr. Rodzinski's dramatic sense emerges to advantage. Strauss' tone-poem was played with the broad and spicy humor which the subject demands.

But Beethoven's Fifth Symphony lost much of its fine texture in mere massiveness. All was either light or dark, a fault in interpretation too common in modern conductors who are frequently seduced by the size of today's orchestra.

WHAT to hear in New York: New York City Symphony, Monday evenings, the City Center. . . . Opera, New York City Opera Company, the City Center, to October 28. . . . Anatole Kitain, pianist, Carnegie Hall, October 26. . . . New York Philharmonic (Schoenberg's *Variations*, premiere), Carnegie Hall, November 1 and 2. . . . New York Little Symphony, Carnegie Chamber Music Hall, November 9. . . . Wanda Landowska, Town Hall, November 18.

FREDERIC EWEN.

Records

LEOPOLD STOKOWSKI's orchestral "synthesis" of *Carmen*, performed with the assistance of the New York City Symphony Orchestra (Victor DM-1002, four twelve-inch records) is on the whole a successful piece of work. The selections are effectively chosen and combined. The transcriptions are good—even the vocal portions sound less offensive than in other instances. The orchestral tone is brilliant, though here and there the brasses are too strident. But as might be expected from the conductor, the strings sound lovely.

Richard Crooks sings ten of Stephen Foster's most popular songs, and sings them beautifully (Victor M-354, five ten-inch records). His tone is rich, but never forced, and his delivery is as simple and untheatrical as the songs themselves. Here you have the old familiar tunes like "Old Black Joe" as well as the less well-known "Ah, May the Red Rose Live Always." Decidedly worth getting, as is the extraordinary set of Italian folk favorites sung by Jan Peerce.

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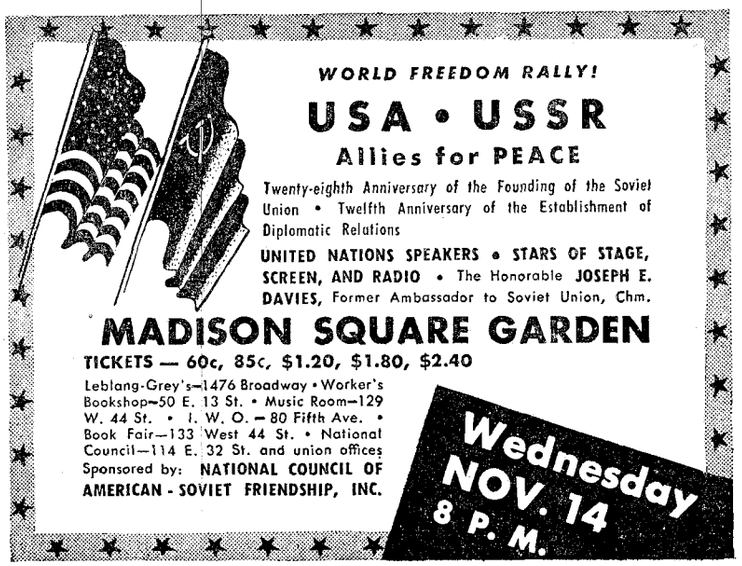
If, like myself, you love *"O Sole Mio," "Torna a Sorrento"* and want them sung in the true old Italian style, you will get *Golden Moments of Music* (Victor SP-8, two ten-inch records), which also includes *"La Danza"* and *"Mattinata."*

Of the single disks the most noteworthy are: *"Porgi Amor"* and *"Dove Sono"* from the *Marriage of Figaro*, excellently sung by Eleanor Steber (Victor 11-8850, twelve inches); "None but the Lonely Heart" and "Prayer from the Moscow Cantata" by Tchaikovsky, equally well sung by Gladys Swarthout, unfortunately against a noisy accompaniment (Victor 10-1166, ten inches); the lovely ballet music from Gretry's *Cephale et Procris*, by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Desire Defauw conducting (Victor 11-8825, twelve inches).

VIRGIL THOMPSON's *Five Portraits* is a novel piece of characterization in music, excellently performed by the Philadelphia Orchestra, the composer conducting (Columbia X-255, two twelve-inch records). Apart from the interest in the personalities depicted, the work has much intrinsic merit, wit, orchestral facility, and some musical charm. Of the five portraits, the most interesting musically are those of Pablo Picasso and Alexander Smallens, perhaps because they are more modern and incisive in style, and original in thematic material. The others are more conventional, but possess a certain grace especially the "Tango Lullaby," which depicts Mademoiselle Flavie Alvarez de Toledo, unfortunately unknown to me.

THE Boston Symphony Orchestra's new version of Richard Strauss' *Til Eulenspiegel* in the "De Luxe" unbreakable recording (Victor DV-1, two twelve-inch records) is less than exciting. I have always imagined *Til Eulenspiegel* as a robust, obscene, anarchic fellow, little given to the heroic or to the genteel; but Mr. Koussevitsky makes him somewhat more Beacon Hillish than I imagine Strauss conceived him. There is altogether too much respectability and grandeur in this recording, and too little snarling blatancy. Unless my memory deceives me, this was not the way I heard Strauss conduct the tone poem with the Philadelphia Orchestra some fifteen years ago. Mechanically, too, the reproduction leaves something to be desired; there is altogether too much echo.

F. E.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SOON IN NEW MASSES

RICHARD O. BOYER, on the staff of the "New Yorker" and recently back from an extended trip as correspondent with the Merchant Marine, starts a regular NM Column.

JULES KOSLOW, formerly a Philadelphia teacher, now a free lance writer in Los Angeles, on "THE NEGRO AND AMERICAN EDUCATION."

CONRAD RHINELAND presents a portrait of Wilhelm Pieck, leader of the German Communist Party.

BARBARA GILES: A chapter from her forthcoming novel "THE GENTLE BUSH."

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Stop the Spanish Atomic Bomb!

By JOHN M. COFFEE

Member of Congress

"EVEN as the first of the atomic bombs crashed down on Japan, the world was hit with the terrible knowledge that Nazi scientists in Germany were within a few months of being the first to successfully harness the terrible destructive powers of uranium. But the bombs which fell in Hiroshima and Nagasaki did not destroy the Nazi scientists who had spent a decade or more in working on the development of atomic power.

The German cartels, who hired and supervised the researches of the Nazi atomic scientists, today control more than forty per cent of the industrial resources of fascist Spain. Many of the German Nazis who worked on atomic bombs in Nazi Germany are now safe and working in laboratories in Nazi-Falange Spain.

On July 3, 1945, I introduced a resolution (H.R. 312) in the House of Representatives which called for a complete diplomatic and commercial break with the Franco regime. I said then, and I repeat it now, that such a move on our part would severely curtail the life of the Nazi-Falange regime in Spain.

Franco Spain is, today, the last outpost in Europe of Axis fascism. It is the last refuge where Axis cartels and Axis scientists can function without interference. It is the one spot left in Europe from which the Axis fascists can launch still another attempt to seize world domination.

I must remind those who think my warning is far fetched that **it was in Spain that the Nazis in this war did much of their experimental work on the rocket bombs which hit London and Antwerp,** killing British civilians and American soldiers alike. I need only point to the map of Europe to show how dangerous Spain can be as a launching point for rocket bombs carrying atomic explosive warheads.

The atomic bomb makes the continuance of Nazi fascism in Spain the personal problem of every peace-loving American. Once deprived of diplomatic and commercial relations with the United States, the Franco regime will fall. I therefore, call upon all Americans who love their country to immediately wire or write to the President of the United States, asking him to follow up the gains of San Francisco and Potsdam by immediately breaking all diplomatic and commercial relations with the Franco regime in Spain. I also ask all Americans to write to their own Representatives in Congress urging their support of H.R. 312, the resolution calling for a diplomatic and commercial break with Franco Spain.

Franco mortally fears the Coffee Resolution. When the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, headed by Bishop Lewis O. Hartman, launched a drive to get one million signatures to a petition favoring the passage of H.R. 312, the Madrid radio savagely attacked the American people. Franco's radio spokesman said that it would be impossible to find one million Americans to sign this petition. There is only one way to answer this slur: clip the coupon below, and send it to the Committee for as many copies of this petition as you can distribute. It is up to the American people to determine our national policy towards Nazi-Falange Spain. The Coffee Resolution is the people's mandate on Spain. When it passes in Congress, Franco falls. Your future is in your hands."

John M. Coffee M. C.

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